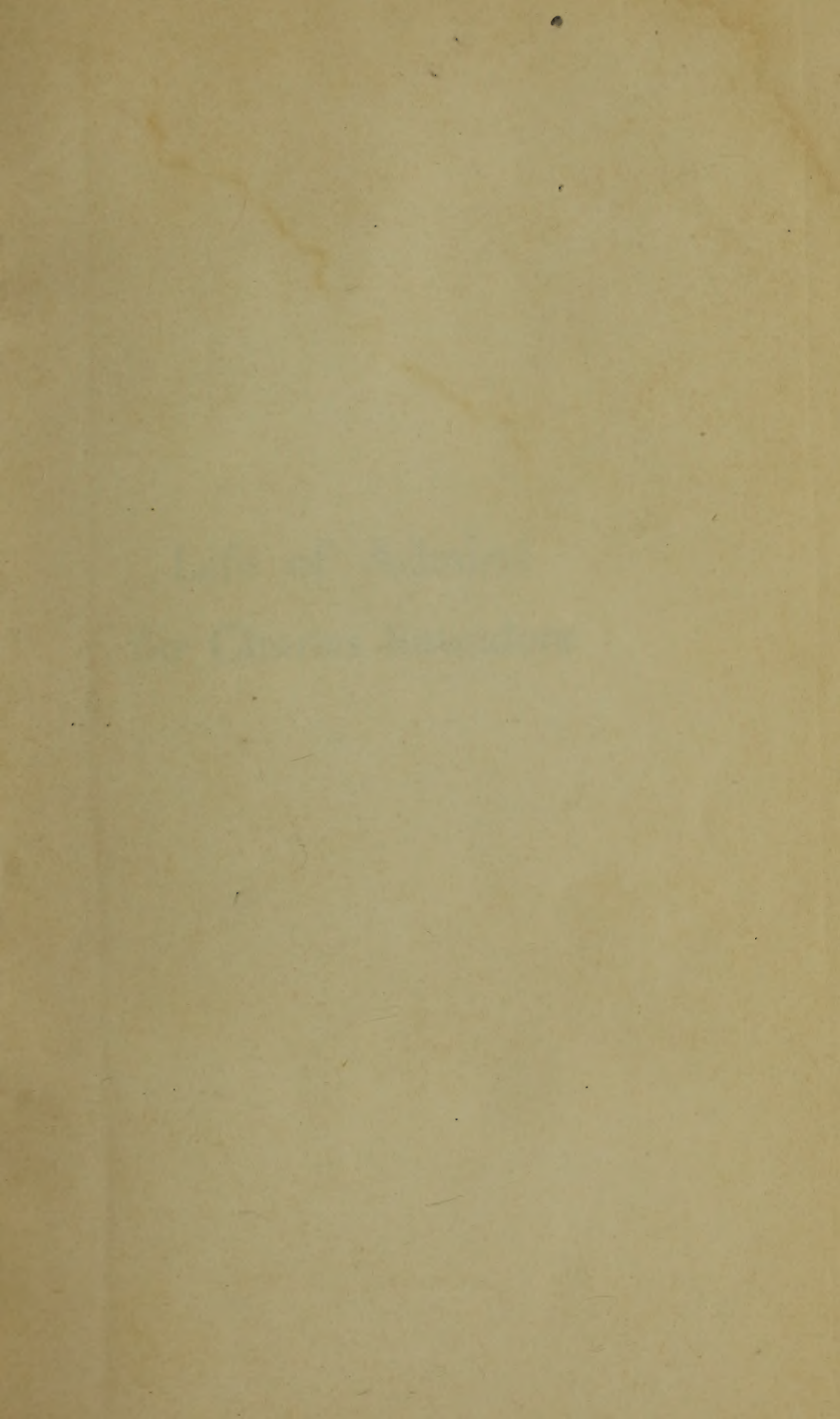




ADMIRAL
R CHARLES SAUNDERS
K.B.



Life of Admiral
Sir Charles Saunders

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

GENERAL WOLFE (in *The Makers of National History Series*, Edited by the VEN. W. H. HUTTON, B.D.). In crown 8vo, cloth gilt, with frontispiece and map, 260 pp., 3s. 6d. net.



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ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES SAUNDERS, K.B.

*from the painting in the Painted Hall, Greenwich, by R. Brompton
(the bequest of Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, Bt.)*

LIFE OF ADMIRAL
SIR CHARLES
SAUNDERS, K.B.

BY

EDWARD SALMON

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Preface

WHEN writing the Life of General Wolfe, five years ago, I was much impressed by the fact that whilst most things affecting his remarkable career were known or ascertainable, little was available as to his colleague at Quebec. Material for a biography of Admiral Sir Charles Saunders was generally regarded as non-existent. Research provided me with enough to serve for an article in the *Fortnightly Review*, some passages from which are now reproduced. The notice attracted by that essay, together with the interest I felt in the man, induced me to continue to follow up clues. "It is curious," said the *Army and Navy Gazette* in 1909, "that no authentic biography of Sir Charles Saunders has ever been written." It is not at all curious if one bears in mind the great difficulty of gathering continuous data, and the certainty that the discharge of such a duty could never bring material reward commensurate with the labour involved.

My determination if possible to write the life-story of Saunders was fixed when in March, 1910, my friend Mr. Beckles Willson published "Wolfe's Missing Journal" in the *Nineteenth*

Preface

Century, and reflected somewhat severely on the part Saunders did, or did not, play in the eleven weeks' campaign. That article seemed like a challenge. When in 1912 I had the good fortune to find myself on the heights of Quebec, taking a bird's-eye view of the Lower Town, the Basin, the end of the Isle of Orleans, and the cliffs towards Point Levi, I felt more strongly than ever that much had been said regarding Saunders, which all the love in the world for Wolfe did not justify. What Mr. Julian Corbett and Major Wood had written of his great but barely recognised work was expert guarantee that I should be pursuing no mean record. Matter accumulated slowly. Friends connected with the Admiralty and with the Canadian Government, friends especially interested in the eighteenth century, and others, endeavoured in the kindest way to help me forward. Their efforts were not encouraging because they seemed only to provide proof that I knew already whatever was to be found. Hence it was with something like a thrill that I occasionally came upon a treasure such as the captain's log of the *Tryal's Prize*, which has been preserved, while that of the *Centurion* during Anson's voyage is wanting. To handle the log of the *Tryal's Prize* was to put one's self into direct touch with Saunders and the great expedition of

Preface

which we have all read time and again as one of the real romances of the sea. Again, I confess that there seems to me more than a gleam of light on the Seven Years' War in Anson's Secret Despatch sent out by a fast frigate to Saunders at Gibraltar—"bearer to await reply"—inquiring as to the chances of taking Marseilles and Cadiz. The despatch and the reply, so far as I am aware, are now printed for the first time.

A happy accident reminded me that Viscount Melville's first two names are Charles Saunders, and that he is a direct descendant of Saunders' niece. A letter to his lordship brought a prompt and courteous response, which enabled me to get into correspondence with Miss Lucy Saunders, who is a many times great-grandchild of Saunders' uncle George. Miss Saunders, at much trouble to herself, put me in possession of certain facts without which even the slender threads as to Charles Saunders' early days which I am able to give would be lacking. They dispose of some deductions and suggestions as to Saunders' birth and relationships.

To Viscount Melville, to Miss Lucy Saunders, to Mr. A. M. Broadley (an eighteenth-century enthusiast if ever there was one) who kindly gave me a photograph of McArdell's engraving of Sir Joshua Reynolds' portrait,

Preface

to my friend Captain Victor Jones who has helped me to steer clear of troubles in various seas, and to other friends and obliging officials who have done what they could to further my views, I make grateful acknowledgments. There are doubtless other directions to which I might turn with some prospect of further success. To have got together so much suggests that more remains. For the deficiencies which the book will be found to contain I crave the indulgence due, I think, to one engaged in something like a literary and historical obstacle race. The book will at least, I hope, enable those who look upon Brompton's portrait of Sir Charles Saunders in the Painted Hall at Greenwich to see more in it perhaps than hitherto.

E. S.

BUCKHURST HILL,
January, 1914.

Contents

	PAGE
PREFACE	V
INTRODUCTION	1

CHAPTER I

A SOMERSETSHIRE LAD

Early Days—Lieutenant of the <i>Centurion</i> —Beginning of Anson's Voyage—Captain of the <i>Tryal</i> —Round the Horn—Juan Fernandez	13
---	----

CHAPTER II

PACIFIC AND UNPACIFIC

Saunders' First Prize—Harrying the Spaniard—Disasters and Adventures—Scuttlings and Big Captures	33
--	----

CHAPTER III

FROM THE CHANNEL TO THE MEDITERRANEAN

With Norris and Hawke—The Truth about the <i>Yarmouth</i> —Sailors and the Marriage Act—A Cargo of Courage—Saunders in the Mediterranean—Barbary Pirates—The Seven Years' War	51
---	----

CHAPTER IV

THE MARITIME CHESSBOARD

Osborne takes Command—Holding the Straits—The Story of the <i>Foudroyant</i> —Osborne's Tribute to Saunders—Anson wants Saunders in England	79
---	----

CHAPTER V

THE QUEBEC EXPEDITION AND A CONTROVERSY

Saunders to Command the Fleet in the St. Lawrence—Secret Instructions—A Controversy Disposed of—Durell's Delay—Saunders' Despatch to Pitt	93
---	----

Contents

CHAPTER VI

A SOLDIER'S IMPATIENCE AND A SAILOR'S PROMPTITUDE

	PAGE
An Imposing Naval Spectacle—Up the St. Lawrence—The Humours of a Master—Wolfe's Impatience—Truth about Saunders' Co-operation—An Interesting Exchange of Letters—Wolfe's Victory and Death—Saunders goes to Assist Hawke	111

CHAPTER VII

MEDITERRANEAN MANŒUVRES AND DIPLOMACY

Saunders Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean—Searching out the Enemy—A Diplomatic Service—Bourbon Intrigue—Important Captures—Holding up Big Ships	153
--	-----

CHAPTER VIII

BEARER TO AWAIT REPLY

Anson's Secret Express—Saunders on Marseilles and Cadiz—Hay's Mysterious Request—Spain joins in the War—Death of Anson—Bute's Peace	175
---	-----

CHAPTER IX

A BRAVE STATUE AND AN ELEGY

Saunders' Duties and Interests—A New Command—First Lord of the Admiralty—Corsica—Falkland's Island—Quebec Act—Various Tributes—An Elegy	199
---	-----

APPENDIX : WOLFE'S LAST ORDERS	233
--	-----

INDEX	239
-----------------	-----

List of Illustrations

	PAGE
PORTRAIT OF SAUNDERS, FROM BROMPTON'S PICTURE IN THE PAINTED HALL AT GREENWICH . <i>Frontispiece</i>	
THE BURNING OF PAYTA	38
MAP OF THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE	114
FACSIMILE OF SAUNDERS'S LETTER TO WILLIAM PITT .	146
SKETCH MAP TO ILLUSTRATE SAUNDERS' MOVEMENTS	162
PORTRAIT OF SAUNDERS FROM SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS' PICTURE	194

Life of Admiral Saunders

INTRODUCTION

Neptune with wonder heard the story
Of George's sway and Britain's glory,
Which time shall ne'er subdue ;
Boscawen's deeds and Saunders' fame,
Join'd with brave Wolfe's immortal name,
Then cried, Can this be true ? ¹

A STUDY of the eighteenth century is, in a way, like a study of the heavenly bodies : the closer and more intimate the inquiry, the greater the number of stars of importance, whose existence was hardly recognised, which are found to have a place in the firmament. The century of Marlborough and Walpole and Chatham, of Clive and Wolfe, of Carleton and Warren Hastings, of Anson and Hawke and Rodney, of St. Vincent and Nelson, provides so striking a list of personalities that we are apt to be content to follow the fortunes only of familiar names. In the crowded gallery of national and Imperial portraits is little room for men of lesser renown.

¹ Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads*, Navy Records Society.

Life of Admiral Saunders

The exceptions are the great failures, the Pelhams, the Byngs, the Norths, and, if you will, the Georges. But niches should be found for men whose achievements, of a character not always understood, and therefore not considered in the popular sense, were limited not so much by their own capacity as by the force of circumstances.

Admiral Sir Charles Saunders is a case in point. Thousands could tell what Wolfe and Hawke did without being able to mention any of the great services rendered by one who was a colleague of both. Saunders was Admiral in Command in the St. Lawrence during the anxious weeks when the fate of Quebec, and with it of Empires, was in the balance. He was one of the great men of the eighteenth century, though his record is less dazzling than that of some others whose services every history acclaims. If Wolfe's colleague on the St. Lawrence had been less loyal, less able, less single-purposed, the victory which has made the Heights of Abraham and Wolfe immortal would not have been possible.

Unfortunately Charles Saunders was not the assiduous correspondent, revealing his moods and his ideas from day to day, that Wolfe was. It is pretty certain, too, that the portrait of him given in some books is of little

Introduction

more value as a likeness than the bulk of the pictures of Wolfe. Physiognomy and character must to some extent reflect each other, and it is as hard to see in the coarse lineaments, the ugly, thick-nosed visage of some of the pictures of Saunders, the man we may imagine him to have been, as it is to reconcile the genius and resolution of Wolfe with the triangular profile of most of the so-called portraits. If the pictures of Wolfe and Saunders which have come down to us are authentic, then it can only be said that seldom have a less prepossessing pair worked together for the glory of their race. Brompton's and Reynolds' portraits are more in keeping with my view of the man than the pictures scattered through old books.

Even Westminster Abbey has contributed to the obscurity which time bestowed on Saunders, and from which he has recently been only partially rescued by the researches of naval historians like Mr. Julian Corbett and Major William Wood. Wolfe was buried at Greenwich, but the monument to him is one of the most striking in the Abbey. Close at hand in the Islip Chapel is Saunders' tomb. You may search in vain for any inscription marking the spot. He lies beneath a couple of ordinary rough stones which bear no mark.

Life of Admiral Saunders

To get any explanation of this extraordinary neglect is apparently impossible. How does it happen that nobody has thought it worth while even to record the fact that beneath these common paving flags is buried one certainly worthy of this corner in the National Valhalla? We only know where he lies from the plans published in the Guide to the Abbey prepared by Mrs. Henry Birchenough and Mrs. A. Murray Smith.

Saunders has been spoken of as "one of the uncrowned kings of the sea," a man who "had everything in life to make him great except the one supreme opportunity of commanding a fleet in action."¹ As Major Wood says, "One day's luck makes all the difference—to ready skill," and how ready was the skill of Charles Saunders in all the various circumstances of his adventurous career we may glean from the scattered items to be found in naval annals and in the manuscripts and papers preserved in the British Museum and the Record Office. Admiral Mahan says Saunders was "one of the most distinguished admirals of that generation"²—the generation of the Seven Years' War. Mr. Corbett in his invaluable history of that war refers to Saunders as

¹ Wood, *The Fight for Canada*.

² Mahan, *Types of Naval Officers*.

Introduction

“this almost forgotten officer,” whose name in his opinion has never held the place in naval annals that it deserves.¹ “Apart from the high war services he rendered, Saunders was second in the chain of our great naval First Lords, and as such he embodies the great tradition which came down to him through Anson and passed it on through Howe and St. Vincent to Nelson. As Saunders was the protégé of Anson, so Saunders was now fostering in his flagship the promise of Jervis. Of all the fine young officers the war was breeding Jervis was the one in whom he displayed the warmest interest, and as Anson made Saunders so did Saunders make St. Vincent.” The reference here, of course, is to Jervis’s selection to accompany Saunders on the expedition to Quebec.

Incidentally the life of Saunders should serve to throw a certain amount of light on the navy in the eighteenth century, and the improvements which he and one or two others managed to effect in the relations of the sister services by a proper recognition that army and navy are jointly necessary to the security of an Empire such as ours. Not always did the leaders of joint expeditions work with the harmony and goodwill which marked the conduct of men like

¹ Corbett, *England in the Seven Years’ War*, Vol. i.

Life of Admiral Saunders

Amherst and Boscawen, Wolfe and Saunders. Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth added to their troubles in the Carthagera expedition of 1740 by their mutual recriminations and contempt; nor, as Campbell says, did the mischief end with the commanders: "each had his separate cabal, and the spirit of discord was diffused through the whole fleet and army."¹ The Rochefort expedition threw the differences of Hawke and Mordaunt into sharp relief. Sometimes, indeed, the spirit was so bad that men in the same service quarrelled to the detriment of national interests: to wit, Matthews and Lestock. The navy itself was a very rough, at times almost a barbarous school, and though the century was one of invention and progress, both in the construction of ships and the science of navigation, its records, brilliant in their sum, are often appallingly sordid and unwholesome. Governments, at any rate before the time of Pitt and Anson, neglected the navy in a way that makes it wonderful Great Britain was ever able to secure and keep command of the sea. The numbers of its *personnel* rose and fell between 1700 and 1750 from 7,000 to 40,000 and back again to 8,000, and it was not till the Seven Years' War that 50,000 and ultimately 70,000

¹ *Naval History*, Vol. iv.

Introduction

were on the establishment. In peace time the *personnel* of the navy was reduced almost to vanishing point, and in war time every one capable of walking was liable to be seized for a service which he did not understand, and often was absolutely unfitted for. Even cripples were pressed in order to make up a ship's complement. The ships themselves were often floating death-traps when sickness attacked the crew. Heroic performances appear all the more remarkable when we know something of the conditions in which the sailor lived, moved, and had his being. It was a time of violent contrasts. They were the days when the sailor either died of insanitary conditions, or survived to reap a fortune in prize-money or to be turned adrift penniless. What the state of the navy was we know from Smollett, whose imagination may be credited with many horrors, but was not wholly irresponsible in describing the ghastly ordeal of life afloat in those times. The proceeds of the rich prizes which were taken from Frenchman and Spaniard were, of course, shared by the men, and brought some compensation for the misery endured. To appreciate British achievements on the sea during the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War the accompanying circumstances must be known. The sordid went hand in hand with the heroic ;

Life of Admiral Saunders

disease accounted for more victims than the enemy's bullets ; sublime courage was fostered in supremest discomfort ; and the press-gang was the whipper-in of galley slaves who generally responded to the call of leaders like Hawke and Saunders as needle responds to magnet. The officers were with rare exceptions the roughest of rough diamonds. Leaders of the type of Anson and Saunders were, with all their hard bitter experience, well in advance of their time in their chivalry and desire to improve the conditions of naval service. They set an example which made for later reforms ; they did much for the professional training and education of those officers who were to carry the British navy to its highest pitch of glory,¹ and they assisted to make the officer something more than the embodiment of that bull-dog courage which in the first half of the eighteenth century was his most distinguishing characteristic.

It affords some idea of the rough-and-ready—often even more rough than ready—character of naval service down to the middle of the eighteenth century to understand that before 1749 officers wore whatever fancy dictated as the most effective costume on duty as well as off. When at last they came to the conclusion that the dignity of the service demanded they should

¹ Laird Clowes, *Social England*.

Introduction

adopt some sort of uniform, and petitioned the King accordingly, they asked, says Mr. Hannay, for "a blue uniform with red facings or a red uniform with blue facings."¹ Another authority tells us that the blue jacket came near to being "grey faced with red." Timothy Brett, writing to Captain Philip Saumarez in 1747,² says: "I told Keppel of your uniform. I find it is going to be general. He is going to have one made up which is to be grey, faced with red and laced in the manner you describe yours: this and two or three others are to appear at Court for the King's approbation." Keppel wore a jockey cap at the taking of Payta! It was desired that as many officers as possible should make coats according to their own views, and a choice be made of one to become general. The question was settled when the King saw the Duchess of Bedford in her riding habit of blue with white facings. "It charmed him," says Mr. Hannay, "and he gave the colour and the facings to the navy, which was not the least wise thing King George the Second did in his time—the old navy uniform, the blue coat relieved with white and gold, the white knee-breeches and stockings, was one of the most becoming ever worn."

¹ *Rodney.*

² *Life of Augustus, Viscount Keppel.*

A Somersetshire Lad

CHAPTER I

A Somersetshire Lad

EARLY Days—Lieutenant of the *Centurion*—Beginnings of Anson's Voyage—Round the Horn—Juan Fernandez.

THE first difficulty that confronts one in preparing a biography of Charles Saunders is to ascertain approximately the date of his birth and to determine his parentage. He was probably born before or about the year 1713. According to his certificate he was 21 when he passed his examination for the Navy in 1734, but Sir John Laughton¹ thinks he would have been three or four years younger. That would make the date of his birth 1716 or 1717 : the year 1720, given in the list of flag officers, by Clowes, is obviously wrong.² Sir John Laughton says Saunders was "probably a near relative (there is no mention of him in George's will which seems to negative the suggestion that he was a son)" of Sir George Saunders, the distinguished Rear-admiral, who died in 1734. The one thing about Saunders' birth which can I think be definitely affirmed is,

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² Clowes, *Royal Navy*, Vol. iii.

Life of Admiral Saunders

that he was not Sir George Saunders' son. The branch of the Saunders family from which Charles sprang was settled in the sixteenth century, if not long before, near Bridgwater in Somersetshire. It is said the family were descended from one of the Counts of Hapsburg, but there is nothing to show how they got the name of Saunders.

Sometime early in the seventeenth century I gather that one George Saunders lived at Huntspill in a house known as Saunders' Court and had five children, the youngest being James, the father of the future Admiral Sir Charles. James Saunders lived near Bridgwater, and of his children the only two who concern us were the subject of this biography, and his sister Ann. Ann Saunders married one Peter Kinsey and is interesting as the mother of Jane, Saunders' niece, who married Richard Huck. At Saunders' death the Hucks took the name of Huck-Saunders, and their children, Anne and Jane, married respectively the second Viscount Melville, and the tenth Earl of Westmoreland.

So far as is known the only association of Saunders' family with the navy came through the Carliels, one of whose earlier sons distinguished himself in some of Drake's expeditions. The Carliels were neighbours of and

A Somersetshire Family

indirectly related to the Saunderses, but whether there was anything in the association to turn Charles' attention to the sea must be matter for pure conjecture. All we can say is that Saunders was a Somersetshire lad; he may have been educated at Bridgwater or at Bristol, or he may have been sent farther afield. My inclination would be to assume that he went to Bristol and in that port heard stories of the expeditions, from Cabot's time down to his own, which fired his imagination and left him no choice but to become a sailor.

Was he a King's Letter Boy? He probably commanded enough interest to secure the Letter of Service which would assist preferment. Sir John Laughton says he entered the Navy on board the *Seahorse* towards the end of 1727, under "another kinsman," Captain Ambrose Saunders, though what the relationship was he does not indicate and I cannot determine. Ambrose Saunders died in 1731, and the boy was sent to the *Hector*, commanded by Captain Solgard, with whom he served in the Mediterranean till 1734.¹ One would give much to be able to trace his life at this time more closely, if only to know to what extent the boy was father to the man.

In general eighteenth century records we first

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography.*

Life of Admiral Saunders

hear of him as first lieutenant on board the *Centurion*, in which Commodore Anson embarked in 1740 on his famous voyage round the world—that voyage which, for hardship, cost in human life, dogged endurance, and ultimate success, is one of the most remarkable and fascinating in the history of adventure and exploration. Anson had a knack of finding out the best men to assist him in any important work he might be called on to undertake; all his officers and captains achieved distinction. On board the *Centurion* as a midshipman was Augustus Keppel, the future Admiral, and Saunders' great friend in the years to come. It is a tribute to the impression Saunders had already made that he should have been among those selected to accompany the great secret expedition which, on the outbreak of war with Spain in 1739, it was decided to send to attack the more or less ill-defended Spanish settlements in South America and the Eastern Seas, and capture heavily-laden treasure-ships. Anson was at first to go by the Cape of Good Hope, whilst another fleet went by Cape Horn. Plans, however, were changed, and Anson was ordered to the South Seas by way of the Horn. The administration of the navy had been allowed to fall into so hopeless a state that he received, in June, instructions

Anson's Difficulties

dated the previous January!¹ It took the Admiralty six months to complete the making up of its mind, after the long period of Sir Robert Walpole's peace-at-any-price government.

Anson threw himself with vigour into his preparations, but obstacle on obstacle barred progress. His squadron wanted men, and admirals who were ordered to let him have 300, sent him half that number, and of that half a considerable proportion was taken from hospital. Bland's regiment and three companies of 100 men each were to be the military complement. Five hundred aged, decrepit, maimed out-pensioners went from Chelsea Hospital instead, and of the 500 one-half reached the ship, the stronger members of the contingent having deserted whenever possible. Maybe the authorities in their wisdom thought the sea voyage might turn the invalid pensioner into a hardy marine. Experience was to prove, what the authorities should have anticipated, that the stoutest sailor stood a poor chance of survival on such a mission. Some raw marines were ordered to make good the balance of the Chelsea pensioners. Not till the 10th

¹ *A Voyage Round the World*, by George Anson, Esq., compiled by Richard Walter, M.A., Chaplain of the *Centurion*. This is practically the only source of information as to the expedition.

Life of Admiral Saunders

August did the squadron leave Spithead for St. Helens. Contrary winds combined with Admiralty orders to cause more delay; another month went by before Anson was able to set sail, and then an order that he was to convoy certain merchantmen as far as possible involved further loss of time.

The result was the expedition got off at a period when weather conditions were certain to handicap it, and the interval between the issue of orders and the start gave the Spaniards the opportunity of learning more about Anson's purpose than an enemy should know of a secret mission. Evidence of this was forthcoming at Madeira as well as later in the voyage. Anson's squadron consisted of the *Centurion* 60; the *Gloucester*, 50; *Severn*, 50; *Pearl*, 40; *Wager*, 28; *Tryal* sloop, 8, and two Victuallers. It was only by a lucky chance that Anson escaped the immediate attention of Don Joseph Pizarro and his squadron of battleships, most of which were ultimately lost in the effort to waylay or overtake the expedition in the neighbourhood of Cape Horn. From Madeira, Anson struck across to St. Catherine's off the coast of Brazil. Already the health of the men, notwithstanding Anson's care, was suffering from their confinement under tropic conditions. When the *Centurion* reached St. Catherine's over 20 per cent.

Saunders' First Command

of her complement were seriously sick, and on the other ships things were equally bad. After five weeks on the island, the number of sick was greater than on the day the squadron arrived. Officers suffered as much as the men, and Saunders not the least among them.

It was the 18th January before Anson was able to resume his voyage. Then stress of weather cost the *Tryal* her mainmast, and the squadron put in at St. Julian to enable the sloop to refit. The *Pearl* got separated and was not heard of again for a month. When she reappeared she attempted to escape the friendly attention of the *Gloucester*, having been nearly caught during her solitary cruise by a Spanish ship which carried a red penant in imitation of Anson's. The *Pearl*, not to be deceived twice, therefore ran away from the *Gloucester*. Her report was gloomy. Her captain had died within a fortnight of leaving St. Catherine's. The necessity for finding a successor led to the transference of the Captain of the *Tryal* to the *Wager*, and Anson selected Charles Saunders to command the *Tryal*. Saunders, however, was ill, dangerously ill with fever, on the *Centurion*, "and it being the opinion of the surgeon that to remove him on board his own ship in his then condition might tend to the hazard of his life, Mr. Anson gave

Life of Admiral Saunders

an order to Mr. Saumarez, first lieutenant of the *Centurion*, to act as Master and Commander of the *Tryal* during the illness of Captain Saunders.”¹

Probably Saunders took over his first command immediately before or immediately after leaving St. Julian—at or about the end of February. Apparently he was not at the council of war on board the *Centurion* summoned by the Commodore on the 24th. At this meeting Anson proposed, and it was agreed, that when they arrived in the South Seas, the town of Valdivia should be first attacked in order that the Admiral might have easily available some port where his ships after their long voyage could be careened and refitted. Should the squadron get separated in passing from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the ships were to cruise for ten days off the island of Nuestra Senora del Socoro: failing reunion with the Commodore they were to make their way to Valdivia and if, after cruising off the harbour for fourteen days, they were still without sight or news of him, they were to make their way to Juan Fernandez. On the 27th February, the day of departure from St. Julian, the *Gloucester* provided a presage of the trouble in store by her inability to raise her anchor. She had to

¹ Walter, *A Voyage Round the World*.

Rounding the Horn

cut her cable in order to join the squadron. Prudence demanded that the ships should keep together as far as possible. Anson could not tell at what moment they might be confronted by Pizarro, who would certainly not have given up the search for him. A more dreaded enemy than the Spanish fleet was in wait—if Anson had but known—yet a friendly enemy who so far disposed of the Spanish fleet as to make it out of Pizarro's power to do much mischief. When the *Centurion* and its companions reached Le Maire Straits they encountered conditions of wind and sea of which the oldest sailors among them had never experienced the like. A few hours' fair weather was the herald of storm ; Anson and his officers were not too certain of their geography, and when hurricanes were tearing their sails to shreds, or carrying their masts overboard, when furious currents swept them helplessly away to the eastward, and men who attempted to go about their duties were thrown upon the decks like ninepins, or into the raging seas, they discovered by bitter experience that the stories brought back from the Horn by previous navigators were not exaggerated as they thought but fell short of the fact.

The *Tryal* and the *Pearl* led the way, and Captain Saunders' mettle was put to the

Life of Admiral Saunders

severest test. The pumps went wrong, and the sloop made so much water that she was not safe until the Commodore was able to come to her assistance with a pump from the *Centurion*.

Six weeks after leaving St. Julian, the squadron was considered to have well cleared Tierra del Fuego and to be "within the limits of the southern ocean." "On the 13th April we were but a degree in latitude to the southward of the west entrance of the Straights of Magellan; so that we fully expected in a few days to have experienced the celebrated tranquillity of the Pacifick Ocean."¹ The happy anticipation was rudely dispelled on the morning of the 14th when land was discovered right ahead. The squadron was already beating north and nothing but a providential change in the wind could have saved it from going ashore. Not half the distance westward on which they calculated had been made: the discovery was the more distressing because men were falling sick with every hour, and every hand was valuable; the ships were less than ever fitted to face the pitiless buffetings, and to make matters more gloomy two of their number, the *Severn* and the *Pearl*, disappeared and, so far as Anson's voyage was concerned, neither was to be seen

¹ *A Voyage Round the World.*

A Haven of Hope

again. One by one the remaining vessels were lost sight of; we can judge of Saunders' experience with the *Tryal* by the record of what happened to Anson and the *Centurion*. Arriving off Socoro on the 8th May and cruising about according to arrangement, the *Centurion* looked in vain for a single member of the squadron. Anson faced considerable perils during a whole fortnight off a lee shore, in squally weather and one terrific storm which sent consternation to the hearts of most on board. The sickness grew worse, until it became absolutely necessary to make for Juan Fernandez if Anson was to save the remnant of his crew. Scurvy had the manhood of the vessel in its grips. Fresh air, fresh water, fresh food must be found. The idea of making Valdivia, according to programme, was abandoned, it being practically certain none of the ships had gone there.

The *Centurion* lost much time in striking Juan Fernandez: the charts did not show it in its proper position, and it was not till the 9th June that it was located. Men had died off so rapidly and the majority of those alive were in such a state of debility that only by the assistance of officers, servants, and boys, was the island actually reached at last—a haven of hope if ever there was one. They had not long been at anchor in fifty-six fathoms

Life of Admiral Saunders

of water in the northern bay when a sail appeared—friend or enemy? To the joy of the Commodore the *Tryal* sloop was made out. Her plight was as bad as that of the *Centurion*. Richard Walter says: “We immediately sent some of our hands on board her, by whose assistance she was brought to an anchor between us and the land. We soon found that the sloop had not been exempted from the same calamities which we had so severely felt, for the commander, Captain Saunders, waiting on the Commodore informed him that out of his small complement he had buried thirty-four of his men, and those that remained were so miserably afflicted with the scurvy that only himself, his lieutenant, and three of his men were able to stand by the sails. The *Tryal* came to an anchor within us on the 12th, about noon, and we carried our hawsers on board her in order to moor ourselves further inshore, but the wind coming off the land in violent gusts, prevented our mooring in the birth we intended.”

Then began the heartrending business of erecting tents and trying to get the sick on shore. The poor wretches were so ill that they were moved bodily in their hammocks, and many died instantly they were brought into the fresh air. The work devolving on the few in health was so heavy that Anson himself

The Gloucester

had to lend a helping hand in the gruesome task. For a week or more, of those who survived the removal, five or six died daily. Ten days after the arrival of the *Tryal*, another vessel was sighted; it was not till the 26th that the strange sail was ascertained to be the *Gloucester*. Her crew was worse off than that of the *Centurion* or the *Tryal*, because the fresh water on board was practically exhausted. The Commodore sent his boat out to her, but the wind was contrary, and "the *Tryal's* boat manned by the *Centurion's* people" was despatched to her relief. Both boats were detained by the Captain. Without the addition to his crew of the men from the other ships, there was no longer sufficient strength to navigate the *Gloucester*, which for a fortnight was kept outside the bay and then disappeared altogether. A week elapsed—a week of the gravest anxiety to Anson and Saunders—and the *Gloucester* was back again. More assistance was necessary, and the Commodore then sent his long boat, but with positive orders to return at once. The orders simply could not be obeyed. The weather was too much for the long boat and it was feared she was lost. Three days later, however, she came back with the most dreadful tidings of the state of affairs on the *Gloucester*. She brought away six sick men,

Life of Admiral Saunders

and two were dead before they reached the bay. It was the 23rd July before the *Gloucester* was able to get in, having spent more than a month in the effort within sight of the sorely needed relief: surely the most maddening of all tortures.

When at last the *Gloucester* was riding safely in the bay and her commander was able to report in person to the Commodore, he explained that he had been forced as far west as Mas a Fuero, and from his description of his experiences, Anson thought other ships might have gone there too, mistaking it for Juan Fernandez. He therefore decided to send Captain Saunders to Mas a Fuero in the *Tryal*, fitting her out from the *Centurion* and the *Gloucester*. On the 9th August the *Tryal* weighed anchor, but the wind dropped and she began to drift helplessly with the tide. Her position became dangerous, and Saunders had to show lights and fire guns for assistance. Boats put off, and the *Tryal* was towed back into the bay. The following day she set out again, this time successfully. Ten days later a sail appeared, and Anson believed it was Saunders returning. That idea was dispelled after a while by the rig of the newcomer, which ultimately proved to be the Victualler *Anna*, of which the last news had been brought in by

Again Ready

Saunders. She and the *Tryal* had been in company off the coast of Chile from the 9th to the 13th May—three months' ago. The *Anna* had more extraordinary experiences, but happily not as heartrending, to be put to the account of this extraordinary voyage. Her arrival was welcome, notwithstanding that many of her provisions were bad when examined—no uncommon thing in eighteenth century naval commissariat records.

Saunders found nothing at Mas a Fuero and returned to Juan Fernandez a week after the *Anna* arrived. The Victualler was condemned as unseaworthy, and Anson bought what in her was worth having, taking her papers on board either the *Centurion* or the *Gloucester*, and converting her foremast into a mainmast for the *Tryal*. By September the ships were refitted and the invalids restored to health. Twelve months after leaving England Anson was, therefore, once more ready to embark, though with sadly reduced resources, on the main business of his voyage. The mortality had been heartbreaking: there were 960 men on the three ships when they left St. Helens: 335 remained, a number insufficient for the proper manning of the *Centurion* alone. Yet Anson was prepared to go forth gaily to meet Pizarro or any other enemy he could find in

Life of Admiral Saunders

those seas. His courage and confidence were superb, and an example which his officers never forgot. Saunders, as his whole career showed, did not fail to profit by it.

A Spanish sail, the first seen since their arrival at Juan Fernandez, appeared. The *Centurion* was out in pursuit like a terrier after a rat. She missed her quarry after a long chase, but she captured instead the *Nuestra Senora del Monte Carmelo* laden with valuable merchandise and plate on her way from Callao to Valparaiso. From the papers on board, as well as the prisoners taken Anson gleaned the extremely interesting news that Pizarro's fleet had been on the watch for him off the coast of Peru and Juan Fernandez right down to the 6th June—only three days before he reached the island. Had he not missed it at first he would have run right into the Spaniard's arms, and *Centurion*, *Gloucester*, and *Tryal* would have been disposed of in detail. Any show of resistance, in their plight at the time, would have been practically impossible. Doubtless the Spaniards thought the British dogs had all gone to the bottom, and when some of Anson's prisoners first saw the *Tryal* they are said to have marvelled that such a vessel could be built on the island in so short a time: it never occurred to them that so small a craft could

Astonished Spaniards

have survived a passage round the Horn in conditions which would have turned back some of the best of Spanish ships. They were as amazed as were the French eighteen years later when Saunders safely navigated the St. Lawrence with his big ships and Wolfe's transports. It was part of Saunders' business in life, early and late, to show Spaniard and Frenchman that he could go where many of the bravest and most resourceful of their compatriots hardly dared venture.

Pacific and Unpacific

CHAPTER II

Pacific and Unpacific

SAUNDERS' First Prize—Harrying the Spaniard—Disasters and Adventures—Many Scuttlings and Big Captures.

AT the beginning of September, the Commodore despatched Captain Saunders on an important mission. The *Tryal* with a crew strengthened by ten men from the *Centurion* was to cruise off Valparaiso and waylay Spanish merchantmen. Anson meanwhile converted the *Carmelo* into a man-of-war by mounting guns from the *Anna*. He sent certain passengers and seamen from the captured vessel to assist the working of the *Gloucester*. The slender number of hands now had four ships and prisoners as well to look after. With the *Centurion* and the *Carmelo*, Anson intended to join the *Tryal* off Valparaiso during the third week in September. On his way he discovered two ships, one making straight for the *Centurion*. He correctly took her for a Spaniard. He was preparing to give her a broadside when he learned that she was in charge of Mr. Hughes, Saunders' lieutenant. Saunders had not been long in securing a prize. The second vessel was the *Tryal* herself with crippled

Life of Admiral Saunders

masts. Captain Saunders went on board the *Centurion* and reported, according to Walter, that he had taken the ship on the 18th September. "She was a prime sailer and had cost him thirty-six hours' chase before he could come up with her. For some time he gained so little on her that he began to despair of taking her. The Spaniards, though alarmed at first with seeing nothing but a cloud of sail in pursuit of them, the *Tryal*'s hull being so low in the water that no part of it appeared, yet knowing the goodness of their ship and finding how little the *Tryal* neared them, they at length laid aside their fears, and recommending themselves to the Blessed Virgin for protection, began to think themselves secure. Indeed their success was very near doing honour to their Ave Marias, for, altering their course in the night and shutting up their windows to prevent any of their lights being seen, they had some chance of escaping, but a small crevice in one of the shutters rendered all their invocations ineffectual, for through this crevice the people on board the *Tryal* perceived a light, which they chased till they arrived within gunshot, and then Captain Saunders alarmed them unexpectedly with a broadside when they flattered themselves they had got out of his reach. However, for some time after they still kept the same sail abroad, and it was not observed

The Tryal's Prize

that this first salute had made any impression on them ; but just as the *Tryal* was preparing to repeat her broadside the Spaniards crept from their holes, lowered their sails, and submitted without any opposition. She was one of the largest merchantmen employed in those seas, being about 600 tons burthen, and was called *Arranzazu*."

The *Tryal* had performed her last service. She had sprung her mainmast, her maintopmast was gone, and in a fresh gale she sprung her foremast also. She was actually in danger of going down and made much water though the pumps were worked vigorously. The Commodore saw her case was hopeless and it was decided there was nothing to be done but to transfer whatever was possible from the *Tryal* to the *Arranzazu*—henceforth to be called the *Tryal's Prize*—and arm her with twenty guns. She had at one time been used as a man-of-war by the Viceroy of Peru and now became a British frigate. Saunders records in his log :—¹

"Sept. 26, 1741. Fresh gales and hazy with a large swell from ye seaward. This day [received ?] my commission from Commodore Anson to be Captain of His Maj^t's ship, *Tryall Prize*, wh^h orders to remove myself and officers, men, provisions, arms, ammunition, sails, anchors, cables, with all His Maj^t's stores

¹ Captain's Logs, 995, P.R.O.

Life of Admiral Saunders

belonging to said sloop *Tryall* on his said Maj^t's ship *Tryall Prize* which when done to sink y^e said sloop *Tryall* to prevent her hull being discovered in these seas, then to proceed and cruize off the High land of Valparaiso taking with me his prize y^e *Nuestra Senora del Carmela*, in charge of Lieut. Saumarez. If not joined by y^e Commodore in 24 days to proceed to cruise of Pisco and Nasca in y^e latt. s. 14°30' and not finding y^e Commodore there, to proceed to Payta in y^e latt. s. 17°60'."

Saunders began to clear out the *Tryal* the next day with the assistance of a small launch from the Commodore: two days later a heavy swell and fresh winds caused delay, and the moving operation was not complete till the 4th October when the *Tryal* was scuttled. On the 17th, after thirteen days of moderate or fresh gales, with "large swells alternating with rain" and hazy conditions generally, the *Tryal* and her companion sighted land "E. by S. to E.N.E." They bore away north keeping land in sight some leagues distant. Early in November, Saunders was joined by the Commodore and was ordered to keep within three leagues of the land in the hope of discovering ships. Anson captured the *Santa Teresa de Jesus*; in that event Saunders had no hand. This was one of the captures which gave Anson an opportunity of exercising a humanity

The Attack on Payta

towards prisoners, men and women alike, which startled them, because it was in such striking contrast not only with the bearing of the Spaniards towards British prisoners, but with the common and occasionally true reports of British brutality. A day or two later the *Nuestra Senora del Carmine* "from Patia bound to Lyma" was taken. Saunders, judging from his log, took an active part in the capture, though it does not appear so from Walter's narrative. Then came the attack on Payta. On the 13th November he records :—

"I sent my pinnace with a lieut. in company with y^e command^{ts} boats and two Spanish pilots in shore in order to attackt y^e town of Patia at 3 a.m. Y^e attackt y^e town and took it with only the lost of 1 man and two wound'd employed in working into the Bay."

Saunders in his log is necessarily laconic : in any case he would not have been diffusive, for the attacking of towns and capturing of vessels was to him all in the day's work. The town was plundered on the 14th, and on the following day, Saunders says :—"sent ashore all our prisoners except eighteen negroes and six Indians, which is kept to assure y^e ship employed in getting things out of y^e town." The sacking complete the town was set ablaze,

Life of Admiral Saunders

and ships were cut adrift and scuttled. They left Payta on the 17th with prizes, and twenty-four hours after were joined by the *Gloucester*. On the 23rd :—

“Rec^d from his Majt’s ship *Gloucester*, bread 3660 pds, flower 3484 pds, Brandy 435 (?) gallns, beef 1004 pieces, pork 984 pieces, rice 1440 pds, oyl 87 gallons.”

For the next three months they were cruising about with instructions in case of separation to make the land to the north of “Accapulca,” then proceed to the middle island of Tres Marias. Failing to find Anson there, Saunders was to make the best of his way to the island of Macao at the entrance of the Canton River. If there is nothing very exciting in this log, there are many touches which serve to convey an idea of the life lived by Saunders and his men, ever on the watch for the chance of snapping up a prize or doing mischief to Spanish interests, passing the time one day catching turtles, another mending sails. One night in January, “off the island of Cocas,” a light appeared. Saunders signalled to the *Centurion* and *Gloucester* that a sail was ahead, and all three gave chase promptly, hoping that it might prove to be on board the rich Manila galleon for which they were on the look-out.



From "Anson's Voyage Round the World," 1748.

THE BURNING OF THE TOWN OF PAYTA
On the Coast of Santa Fé in the South Sea

A Chase in the Dark

Walter gives an account of the precautions taken ; not a shot was to be fired till the Commodore gave explicit orders, but every gun was loaded "with two round shot for the first broadside." Throughout the night the silent race was maintained, some on the *Centurion* at least being at times able to discern the sails of the strange vessel. Soon they expected to come up with her. Till 6 a.m. the chase continued, when land was sighted, and, says Saunders, "found the light we had chas'd to be a burning mountain."

On the 1st March they were off "the high lands" of Acapulco, and the Commodore made his dispositions with a view to capture the Manila treasure-ship, but she did not make her appearance ; his presence had been discovered and the galleon was detained. Anson then decided to attack Acapulco and secure her, but full reflection convinced him that his chances, with the force he had, were slender. He therefore changed his plans and sought a place where he could replenish his stock of fresh water. He made for the harbour of Seguataneio or Chequetan, leaving Saunders' lieutenant Hughes, in the Commodore's cutter, to cruise off Acapulco in case the galleon should slip out. The *Tryal's Prize* with her companions moored in Chequetan Harbour on the 11th,

Life of Admiral Saunders

and Saunders' notes on the 14th are the most illuminating entry in the log :—

“Capt. Mathew Michell Commodore of his Maj^{ts} ship *Glocester* having Represented to Commod^{re} Anson by letter y^t y^e seamen on board him are so few having buried 2 hundred ninty six men since he left England he apprehended it will be impossible for him to navigate y^e said ship out of these seas and his Maj^{te} ship *Centurion* having also buried 2 hundred eighty seven men and y^e tryall 40 men has Reduc'd y^e strength of y^e 3 ships to a less number than the complement of 1 of y^e fourth Rates those remaing. being in a weak condition and none of y^e ships having men sufficient to work y^m in bad weather, therefore Commod^{re} Anson thinks it as well for y^e safty of his maj^{te} subjects as for the security of both his ships to destroy his Maj^{te} ship *Tryall Prize* under my command, notwithstanding her being in Repair and fitt for the sea to reinforce the said ships with her men and for that purpose has given orders for surveying and distributing his Maj^{te}'s stores in the charge of my officers into y^e charge of the officers of His Maj^{te} ships *Centurion* and *Glocester* which when perform'd has given me orders untill their arrival in England as the said ship will be destroyed For the Benefit of His Maj^{te} service by distributing the petty officers, Seamen and Marins between the ships as part of there complement and the Indians and Negroes as supernumerarres for victuales only.”

Wholesale Scuttlings

Among the things sent on board the *Centurion* were "two boxes of Church plate." The *Tryal's Prize* was cleared by the 29th April, 1742, and Saunders' last entry is:—

"Receiv'd an order from Commodore Geo Anson to sink and destroy his Maj^t's ship *Tryall Prize* cut away ye cable and toe her ashore on the Rocks, after which set her on fire and went myself on board Commodore Anson for a passage home."

The prizes *Carmelo* and *Carmine* were also destroyed, and the *Centurion* and *Gloucester* left for Acapulco to search for the cutter and Mr. Hughes, of whom nothing had been heard during six weeks. Little was known of the coast except from the not always trustworthy accounts given by "the buccaneer writers"; Hughes could not be found and had been given up as lost, when the cutter reappeared. Mr. Hughes and his companions had survived an almost incredible series of adventures and hardships. That they escaped at all, says Walter, "may be considered as little short of miraculous"—not the only element of the miraculous associated with Anson's voyage, either up to the present or in the future.

Anson left the coast of Mexico on the 6th May for the *Ladrones*. The wind was against him, both ships were "crazy," and his troubles

Life of Admiral Saunders

began anew. "We discovered a spring in the foremast of the *Centurion*, which rounded about twenty-six inches of its circumference," according to Walter, "and which was judged to be at least four inches deep. And no sooner had the carpenter secured this mast with fishing it than the *Gloucester* made a signal of distress to inform us that she had a spring in her mainmast, twelve feet below the trussel trees; which appeared so dangerous that she could not carry any sail upon it." When the carpenters had put things fairly right and the voyage was resumed, scurvy broke out again. Seven weeks went by battling with the triple worries of adverse winds, rotten masts, and ailing crews. They got at last into the trade wind which would speedily have taken them to the Ladrones, but the *Gloucester* was in so sad a plight that the *Centurion* had frequently to lie in wait for her. Saunders must often have thought to himself how much better it would have been to scuttle the *Gloucester* and retain the *Tryal's Prize* as the *Centurion's* consort. At the end of July the crowning disaster came to the *Gloucester*. The wind suddenly dropped, and "the ships rolled very deep, by which means the *Gloucester* forecap splitting, her fore topmast came by the board and broke her foreyard directly in the slings."

Tinian and a New Trouble

A day or two more and the *Gloucester* was little better than a wreck. Anson had no choice but to order her to be abandoned if he were to get on at all. She was cleared of everything possible, though much of value taken from the prizes secured by the *Centurion* had to be sacrificed. On the 15th August she was set on fire. The *Centurion*, herself not overseaworthy, was alone, to face Spanish foe or Pacific terror.

But Anson with his solitary remnant of strength never lost heart for a moment. Between the 23rd and the 27th various islands were sighted, one of them being Tinian for which they made. They captured a proa with a Spaniard and some Indians from whom they learned that Tinian, rich in fruit and overrun with animals and poultry, was used by the Spaniards for supplying the garrison of Guam. Once again there was the terrible business of getting the sick ashore; many more died, and even Anson himself a few days later was down with the scurvy. He lay in a tent on shore and was barely convalescent when a furious gale brought new trouble. The *Centurion's* cable parted and the vessel disappeared to the southward. With hardly half the number of her in-any-case-inadequate complement on board it seemed impossible the vessel could weather the storm, more particularly

Life of Admiral Saunders

as she had sprung a leak which the carpenters had in vain attempted to repair. Even supposing she did not go to the bottom, could they hope to navigate her back to Tinian? Days went by and Anson came to the conclusion that the *Centurion* had joined the *Gloucester* and the rest of his squadron. He and his companions set about the lengthening of a small Spanish bark which they had seized, his intention being to try to reach Macao!

It was a desperate resolution but in Anson's view probably the less terrible of two alternatives: to remain on Tinian and fall into the hands of the Spaniards who would treat them as pirates, or to take the plunge across unknown seas without compass in a diminutive craft which might go to the bottom with the first storm. The first provided no hope: the second a bare chance. Happily long before the work of lengthening the boat was complete, a sail in the offing proved to be the *Centurion*. She had been absent nineteen days, and the anxieties of those on board had been not one whit less acute than those of the watchers on shore. So weak were the crew that when she broke loose it was only after repeated failures they managed to get up the mainyard and secure some control over the vessel's movements. She was carried fifty leagues to the south and

Arrival at Macao

west, and as the wind came continuously from the east it was a question whether Tinian could be made again before the last man collapsed from sheer exhaustion. Saumarez, the first lieutenant, was in charge. Whether Saunders was on shore quietly supporting Anson in his resourceful efforts to find a way of escape, or whether he was on board to lend Saumarez a hand in his almost superhuman task there is nothing to show. The chances are he was on shore.

Once more in possession of his ship, Anson lost no time in getting water and fruit into her, and starting for Macao. He left Tinian on the 21st October, and with the eastern monsoon blowing made better progress than might have been expected of a craft with a serious leak and tackle that could no longer be depended on. Macao was reached on the 12th November "after a voyage of two years, more productive of disastrous events, and of human misery with loss of life, of disappointed hopes, endured with patience, firmness, and perseverance, than any naval expedition ever encountered either before or since this memorable one of Commodore Anson."¹ At Macao the Commodore was anxious at once to secure fresh provisions and permission to repair his ship. His ignorance of

¹ Barrow, *Life of Anson*.

Life of Admiral Saunders

Chinese methods on the one hand, and the inability of the Chinese to do anything without the most maddening procrastination on the other both threatened interminable delay. Anson was the most patient and courteous of men, but he knew when to be firm ; he was firm now, and official permits came when he pointed out that the *Centurion* was capable of helping herself and of disposing of any force the Viceroy of Canton and the Mandarins could bring to bear. But that, he added, was not the way of civilised people. If Saunders was present at one interview he must have been mightily amused when Anson, telling the Viceroy's representative that his men must and would be fed, suggested that under the influence of hunger they might turn cannibals, and if they did they would no doubt prefer the plump, well-fed Chinese to their own emaciated ship-mates. We need not follow Anson through the difficulties which kept him at Macao till the 19th April. In the interval he sent Saunders in a Swedish ship with despatches to England. How Saunders fared and the actual date of his arrival are not on record. As he left Anson before the departure from Macao he brought news only of disasters and losses, which gave the Government and the public the idea that the achievements of the voyage were not worth

The Spanish Treasure Ship

the cost. The biggest event of the voyage was accomplished probably about the time Saunders arrived home. In June, 1743, Anson waylaid and captured the Spanish galleon *Nuestra Senora del Caba Donga* with specie on board valued at a million and a half dollars. He put back to Macao, and, having sold the galleon itself for 6,000 dollars, started for England on the 15th December, 1743, reached the Cape of Good Hope in March, and was at Spithead on the 15th June, 1744, having sailed in a fog right through a French fleet. "Thus," says one chronicler,¹ "after a series of most extraordinary adventures and most dreadful scenes of distress did they encompass the globe in three years and nine months. All England rejoiced at the news; the treasures taken by the *Centurion* were conveyed in many wagons adorned with Spanish flags through the streets of London, amidst the acclamations of the multitudes. Mr. Anson was justly loaded with honours, and the meanest sailor who had shared in all the dangers and distresses of these glorious enterprises had not only the satisfaction of having contributed to humble the pride of the enemies of his country, but of being made rich with the spoils."

¹ Commodore Anson's *Voyage Round the World*, London, 1764. A shortened and revised edition of Walter's book.

From the Channel to the
Mediterranean

CHAPTER III

From the Channel to the Mediterranean

WITH Norris and Hawke—The Truth about the *Yarmouth*—
Sailors and the Marriage Act—"A Cargo of Courage"—
Saunders in the Mediterranean—Barbary Pirates—The
Seven Years' War.

ENGLAND was fighting France on the high seas and in Flanders in both her own and Maria Theresa's interests. Captain Saunders was not long unemployed, as one may gather from an odd letter or two.¹ He was appointed to the *Plymouth*—Rodney's old ship—from which he wrote to Corbett of the Admiralty:—

"13th December, 1743.

"Sir, I have received your letter of 10th instant signifying that their Lordships have ordered me as much powder and as great an addition of stores proper for a West Indian voyage as can be taken on board which I beg you'll acquaint their Lordships I will be carefull to demand and am

"Your most obedient humble servant,
"CHAS. SAUNDERS."

This letter is docketed "Let him know he may take in now no more of the one or the other than the proper proportion for the voyage

¹ Captains' Letters. Admiralty In Letters, 2459, P.R.O.

Life of Admiral Saunders

he is ordered which is to the West Indies." Three days later Saunders was busy getting the *Plymouth* ready for sea, but he was not to go to the West Indies after all. On the 27th December he wrote to Corbett :—

"Sir, I have your letter of the 22nd instant signifying their Lordships' direction that of that kind of provisions on board the *Plymouth* which is above the proportion of six months should be spent on till they are reduced to that proportion and as I have now command of the *Saphire* have given a copy of it to the commanding officer on board the *Plymouth*.

"I am, etc."

It was in February, 1744, according to all history, that Sir John Norris, assisted by a storm, scattered the French fleet which was despatched to invade England. February, "1744," I take it, was February, 1743, in the Calendar of the time.¹ Saunders, in the *Sapphire*, was certainly with Norris, but we have no account from him of the affair. The only

¹ The change of Calendar in 1752, effected by Lord Chesterfield's Act of 1751, often makes confusion worse confounded in dates. Letters dated March, 1743, are taken by the unwary before the letters of December, 1743. According to the old reckoning, March 24th, 1743, was the end of the year, December being the 9th month. Failure to remember this, as I have reason to believe some have, would transfer to the historian the "divers inconveniences" which the Act of 1751 was intended to remove for the general public.

Saunders with Norris

letters which I have been able to unearth show that in March he, in company with the *Dover*, was looking after the transports which carried "the Recruits to Flanders." In April he was cruising off the Flemish coast on the look-out for the French. His log of the *Sapphire* opens on the 26th December, 1743, and covers thirteen and a half months. On Saturday the 7th April, 1744, he makes his first reference to the war. The *Sapphire* was then moored in Ostend Roads :—

"At 2 p.m. sent a boat on board a Galliot Hoy in Ostend Road by which I understand she came from Dantzick bound for Dunkirk with recruits for the service of the French King, at 8 manned and armed a boat from Ostend and our Barge, Yawl and Cutter and sent them to take the vessel, at 12 the boats returned and brought on board 138 prisoners and sent the remaining part on board the *Dover*, left the 1st Lieutenant, a mate and six men on board the prize. A. M. came on board General Pultney, got up yards and topmasts, got on board from the Prize 60 arms, read his Majesty's declaration of War against the French King."

They left next day for England, and after sighting the South Foreland, moored in the Downs where they spent the next three weeks. Then came an active spell with other Captains chasing suspicious craft, and with Sir John

Life of Admiral Saunders

Balchen, Saunders moved down Channel to take a huge convoy in charge. On the 31st August the *Sapphire* was off the Portuguese coast. There they received intelligence that the French fleet was in the neighbourhood of "the Rock of Lisbon." Saunders parted company with Balchen, moored in Gibraltar Bay, 15th September, and was not back in the English Channel till the 30th December, 1744. His movements were no doubt full of the excitements inseparable from the time, but the log of the *Sapphire* affords little enlightenment. Among its most suggestive entries are such items as "Tuesday, 17th July, surveyed, condemned, and hove overboard cheese, 1,489 pounds"—a touch which by its very simplicity tells its story.

In March, 1745, Saunders was promoted to the *Sandwich* which carried ninety guns. From the *Sandwich* he was apparently transferred to the *Yarmouth* of sixty-four guns, and in command of her he went out with Rear-admiral Edward Hawke from Plymouth on the 9th August, 1747, to intercept the great convoy for the West Indies which the French had collected in the Basque Roads. The fight off Cape Finisterre two months later was one of Hawke's notable victories—one that showed the extraordinary tenacity and resource of the

Out with Hawke

man. The French fleet, under Desherbiers de l'Etenduère, was, it is true, the weaker by some five ships and 200 guns, but l'Etenduère was a masterly tactician and a doughty fighter. He was to windward, and Hawke had some difficulty in getting at him, but by ordering a general chase and crowding on every inch of canvas his boats could carry, he closed and came near to accounting for the whole of the French squadron. The fight lasted eight hours, and with one exception every Captain under Hawke—Rodney, Saunders, Harland, and others—distinguished himself that day. Saunders has been described as the hero of the occasion¹—a little unjustly, seeing what Hawke himself did in the teeth of innumerable difficulties and with the responsibility of command on his shoulders. Saunders is, perhaps, entitled to credit next to his chief. Two of the Frenchmen, the *Neptune* and the *Monarque*, of seventy-four guns each, lowered their colours to him. L'Etenduère, in his own badly-mauled ship, the *Tonnant*, having shaken himself free of Hawke, endeavoured in company with the *Intrépide* to escape. His intention “was perceived by the *Yarmouth*, *Nottingham*, and *Eagle*, which, at the instance of Captain Saunders of the *Yarmouth*, and on their own responsibility

¹ Wood.

Life of Admiral Saunders

followed.”¹ Saunders, heavily handicapped by his killed and wounded, made splendid efforts, and with a little luck might have effected a great capture. In more than one naval chronicle of authority² we find a protest that Hawke in his official despatch did not make special acknowledgment of Saunders’ services. The protest, written by one of the *Yarmouth’s* officers, is sufficiently interesting to reproduce:—

“Though the *Yarmouth*, without dispute, had as great a share as any single ship in the fleet, if not a greater, in the engagement with the French, October 14th, yet in all the accounts I have seen she is not so much as mentioned, as though no ship had been there. It is somewhat surprising that Admiral Hawke should see and notice in his long account the behaviour of the *Lion*, *Louisa*, *Tilbury*, and *Eagle*, and yet could discover nothing of the extraordinary courage and conduct of Captain Saunders of the *Yarmouth*, who lay two hours and a half close engaged with the *Neptune*, a 70-gun ship with 700 men, which he never quitted till she struck, although the *Monarch*, a 70-gun ship, which struck to us likewise, lay upon our bow for some time, and another of the enemy’s ships upon our stern. When the *Neptune* struck, after killing their one hundred men and wounding one

¹ Clowes, *Royal Navy*, Vol. iii.

² Campbell, *Naval History of Great Britain*, Vol. v; Charnock, *Biographia Navalic*, Vol. v.

A Protest

hundred and forty, we were so close to her that our men jumped into her, and notwithstanding such long and warm work, the ship, much disabled in masts and rigging and 22 men killed and 70 wounded, his courage did not cool here. He could not with patience see the French admiral and the *Intrépide*, a 74-gun ship, get away and none of our ships after them, nor could he think of preferring his own security to the glory and interest of his country, but ardently wished to pursue them; he proposed it, therefore, to Captain Saumarez in the *Nottingham*, and Captain Rodney in the *Eagle*, who were within hail of us; but Captain Saumarez, being unfortunately killed by the first fire of the enemy, the *Nottingham* hauled the wind, and did no more service, and the *Eagle* never got near enough to do any; so that the *Yarmouth* had to deal with both of the enemy's ships for some time till at length they got out of the reach of our guns. I think so much bravery and spirit ought not to lie in oblivion."

This direct challenge of Hawke's account of the battle—an account, by the way, in which he said that so far as fell within his notice the commanders, officers, and companies of every ship except one "behaved with the greatest spirit and resolution in every respect like Englishmen"—seems not only to exalt Saunders, but to reflect on Hawke's sense of justice. Hawke was capable of such prodigies

Life of Admiral Saunders

of valour himself that he would probably not look upon the magnificent efforts of men like Saunders and several other of his captains as calling for more than a general recognition that they did their best to second him. What seemed exceptional heroism to the ordinary man would, in Hawke's eye, be the fighting man's business. Keppel wrote to Anson congratulating him on Hawke's victory and the general "noble behaviour" of those of his friends who had been with Anson on his world voyage. By all the accounts, he said, no one outdid Saunders. "The *Yarmouth* lay by one of their very large ships, was laid on the careen for some minutes, and what is more surprising, she had a gun dismounted, which fell down the powder scuttle and stopped their communication to it, so that for a long time they were useless in a manner."¹ Saunders himself was not inclined to exaggerate the part he played, and we may better understand what happened if we turn to the *Yarmouth's* log, the entry in which I transcribe exactly as he set it down.² It is dated "Thurs., Oct. 15, 1747: Cape Finister":—

"Modr. and Close Wr. at 10 minutes P.M. we began to engage the enemy at $\frac{1}{4}$ past noon

¹ *Life of Keppel*.

² Captains' Logs, 1089, P.R.O.

The Yarmouth's Log

Adm^l. Hawke in y^e *Devonshire* Rainging up on our Lee Quarter and began to fire at y^e ship we were engaged with which was y^e *Severn* on which we shot ahead and engaged y^e *Neptune* y^e *Devonshire* getting ahead of y^e ship she was engaged with endeavouring to rake her. Brought y^e ship in y^e wind which obliged them to tack and the French ship struck her colours to the *Devonshire* who wore round and made sail up to the enemy about 2 o'clock y^e *Eagle* Captⁿ. Rodney coming up astern Raked a French ship on our Weather Quarter and falling astern fell on board the *Devonshire* which obliged her to bear up to clear herself from y^e *Eagle* in this time y^e *Neptune's* sails and rigging were much shatter'd obliged her to fall astern then we shot up with another of y^e enemies ships who was engaging us on our Weather Bow where we lay close engaging her in y^e meantime y^e *Neptune* made sail and came up with us and engaged us again we still having our main and mizon Tops^{ls} aback we shott away her mizon mast and Disabled her in such a manner as she lay muzzled at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 3 struck her colours and hailed us to send our boat on board her which we did and an officer and Discharged our broadside at a ship that was Playing at us ahead of the *Neptune* who in a little time struck her colours at about a quarter of an hour after y^e *Neptune's* main and foremast and Bowsprit came by y^e board and after these ships had struck we made y^e best of our way we could to the assistance of Adm^l. Hawke who we perceived to be warmly engaged who had made y^e sign^l. for our ships

Life of Admiral Saunders

to come to a close engagement but we at this time making but little way through the water occasioned by our masts, sails, and rigging being much shatter'd stood after two ships of ye enemies who were going off before the wind one of which was the French adm^l. ye *Nottingham* at this time came up under our stern and the *Eagle* bearing away steering for the enemy at Dusk ye *Nottingham*, *Eagle* and we coming up with ye enemy began to engage again who kept edging away but we soon Left of the night closing upon us we Lost sight of them. Our masts and rigging shott all to pieces."

As a mere statement of fact, Saunders' log is valuable ; after every allowance has been made for the captain's modesty in the matter, the entry serves to qualify the mere estimates of the hero-worshipper. Saunders was one of the heroes, not the hero, of the occasion, however great the individual credit due to him. "The enemy escaped, it is true," says Mahan,¹ speaking of the *Yarmouth* affair, "but that does not impeach the judgment nor lessen the merits of the officers concerned, for their ships were both much smaller and more injured than those they attacked."

With the conclusion of the war in 1748 Saunders seems to have turned his attention seriously to politics. He had already stood

¹ *Types of Naval Officers.*

Fleet Marriages

for the Heydon division of Yorkshire and been beaten. Timothy Brett, writing to Captain Philip Saumarez on the 12th August, 1747, says: "I supped with Keppel and Saunders last night . . . Saunders lost the election at Heydon by two, but I believe he petitions."¹ The petition we may take it was unsuccessful, as Captain Saunders was elected for Plymouth in 1750. On the 25th September, 1751, he is reported to have married the daughter of James Buck the London banker. We get a rare glimpse of him as a member of Parliament in 1753, when Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Bill was before the House. What were known as Fleet marriages had become a scandal of almost incredible proportions. These Fleet unions necessarily were generally clandestine. In most cases they were the outcome of some sort of treachery or trickery; they were a fertile source of misery to respectable families one of whose members in a moment of freak, or caught in some carefully-laid trap, went through the farce of solemnising a marriage. To certain disreputable creatures who posed as clergymen they brought fine incomes. Taverns and brandy-shops, says Lecky, had Fleet parsons in their pay; lads fresh from college, sailors just paid off, anybody who was in funds was marked down by

¹ *Life of Keppel.*

Life of Admiral Saunders

the wily allies of the tap-room. "When a fleet came in and the sailors flocked on shore to spend their pay in drink and among prostitutes, they were speedily beleaguered, and 200 or 300 marriages constantly took place within a week.¹ Lord Hardwicke's Act made marriage in England valid only when performed either by a clergyman in orders, according to the Anglican liturgy, the banns having been published on three successive Sundays, or by special licence under strictly-defined conditions. The measure was received with a violent storm of abuse; its opponents declared that it would lead to a great increase in immorality and illegitimacy, and it was denounced as an Act pandering to pride and the aristocracy, some of whose scions had been victimized. The opposition was led by Charles Townshend and Fox, and their resounding rhetoric seems to have convinced the member for Plymouth that Hardwicke's proposals would inflict a grievous wrong on the men whose interests were his first care. He intended, he said, to vote against the bill "for the sake of the sailors, having once given forty of his crew leave to go on shore for an hour and all returned married." Lord Hardwicke could hardly have wished for more conclusive testimony in his favour. If logic did

¹ Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. ii.

On Board the "*Prince*"

not show Saunders that he was in error, other influences were at work which induced him to abandon opposition to the measure. Anson was his patron : and Anson was at the Admiralty : Hardwicke was Anson's son-in-law, and when the division was taken, Saunders' vote was given with the ayes.¹ It is a neat illustration of the parliamentary conditions leavening conviction whether the dominant factor be party or personal interest. Perhaps it was in return for this little act of loyalty to his old Commodore, now his official chief, that in the following year Saunders, through Anson's influence, was elected to represent Heydon. In 1754, also, he was made Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital—a position he held for twelve years. In 1755 he was appointed Comptroller of the Navy, was elected an Elder Brother of Trinity House, and given command of the recently-launched 90-gun ship *Prince*.

There were great festivities that year at Spithead on the anniversary of George II's accession. The fleet assembled in force, and Wolfe, among others, took a run to Portsmouth "to enjoy the dreadful though pleasing sight of our mighty Navy." Did he by any chance, one wonders, meet Saunders, the *Prince's* proud commander, who, a year or

¹ Yorke, *Life of Lord Hardwicke*, Vol. ii.

Life of Admiral Saunders

two later, was to be his colleague in the St. Lawrence? Anson went down to inspect the fleet, and “a splendid entertainment” was given on the *Prince* to the Duke of Cumberland, the nobility and gentry and their wives and daughters. Saunders had his ship spick and span for the occasion, and Lady Anson wrote enthusiastically to the Marchioness Grey :—¹

“The whole passed *à merveille* ; the admiration high (and *we* have the vanity to think *just*). Our guest had seen *ships* before, indeed, but never till now saw a *fleet* ; the condition of the ships—the discipline, men, officers, all so totally different, so military, &c., and, above all things, astonished at the *quietness* (a circumstance I have a notion to have heard was very different when *we* were on board Sir John Norris’s ship) at the time of the dinner on board the *Prince*, where there must have been about twelve hundred people. No private house, the best ordered, could have been quieter.”

War was being carried on unofficially between the French and English beyond the seas in 1755, and the question was how long would be the interval before the two countries were again at grips in Europe. Every one in England talked and thought of invasion ; was

¹ Barrow, *Life of Anson*.

A Cargo of Courage

the Navy equal to the task of prevention? Pitt was not yet in a position to take the Imperial reins, and the national tension deepened from month to month. France was busy intriguing and preparing her fleets, and in the spring of 1756, before war had been formally declared, Byng was sent on his abortive mission to relieve Minorca. When news of the failure reached England, Hawke was at once despatched with Saunders as his second, to supersede the incompetent, brave, and unfortunate Byng. "Looking for a man to be Hawke's second and to supersede Temple West, Anson pitched on Captain Charles Saunders. Of all the brilliant band who had accompanied him in the *Centurion* . . . Saunders was the man of whom he had the highest opinion, and well was he to prove the justice of his old chief's judgment."¹

The frigate in which they sailed was said to carry a cargo of courage, but the worst had happened long before they reached Gibraltar on the 3rd July. Hawke and Saunders—who had been made Rear-Admiral of the Blue—could do nothing more than infuse new spirit into British movements, and, incidentally, destroy whatever prestige came to the French from Byng's discomfiture. At the end of 1756

¹ Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, Vol. i.

Life of Admiral Saunders

Saunders was left in charge in the Mediterranean. Writing¹ from the *Prince*, Gibraltar, the 28th November, he officially acknowledged receipt of orders to take command of the thirteen ships left by Hawke. "As small vessels are absolutely necessary for protecting the trade and taking or destroying the small French privateers I will purchase them as soon as possible." He would endeavour to take or destroy any of these privateers, which could be found along the Mediterranean coasts. On the 9th December (he was then on the *Culloden*), he gave a list of the ships at his disposal, "which is two-sixth rates less than your lordships ordered and are now more wanted than any other, there being small French privateer row-boats lying along the coast of Spain wherever there is a gun mounted, and I am sorry to say meet with great encouragement and unjustifiable protection from all the Governors." He sent his first lieutenant to Cadiz to purchase "a good Xebeck" which would be useful for protecting trade—a purchase their lordships of the Admiralty approved and decided to call "The Mediterranean Xebeck." They particularly recommended to him the care of the trade about Genoa and Leghorn, "where the privateers of the enemy cruise in great

¹ Admiralty In Letters, 384.

Saunders In Command

plenty." A little difficulty occurred over the command of the *Xebeck*. Their lordships appointed Captain Elliot, and he was to leave by the next ship from England, but before Saunders received their letter he had given the post to a captain from his squadron. He expressed his astonishment at the appointment of Captain Elliot "as it has been always customary when small vessels have been purchased abroad for the commanding officer to appoint the officers to them. I should hope their lordships would not in particular, just at this time, throw such a slight on me as not to confirm these I have made." He was so much concerned that he offered to get another *Xebeck* if possible "which is much wanted, but there are no three or four pounders nor swivel-guns here for them, which is the heaviest metal they can carry ; the swivels the *Xebeck* has I have supplied from my own ship."

All the answer Saunders got was that with regard to sending Captain Elliot to command the *Xebeck* it was "not particular to him, the then Lords having done that same both at Jamaica and the Leeward Islands." Between the 25th January and the 20th March, 1757, Saunders' ships took a variety of prizes laden with various kinds of merchandise from wines to soap. The following shows his efforts

Life of Admiral Saunders

to deal with French movements down to the 10th April :—

“Sir, the 3rd inst. after I sent away to you my letter of that day’s date I received intelligence from Mr. Francis Aiskell, Consul at Malaga, that four French men-of-war of 74-guns were at anchor off Sorre Molinos, the westernmost Cape of Malaga on which I sailed that night with the *Culloden*, *Berwick*, *Princess Louisa*, *Guernsey* and *Portland* in quest of them, and on the 6th, about 2 in the afternoon, five Leagues to the eastward of Gibraltar, the wind being then at East, we saw them coming down right before it, on which we sometimes lay too, and at other times, stood athwart them under our topsails. A little before 7 they brought too to windward and abreast of us ; we brought too also and soon after I made the signal to Engage ; at 7 they began to fire at near 3 miles distance ; our ships fired a few guns but finding almost all the enemy’s shot fall short, we left off in hopes of gaining the wind enough to bring them to a close engagement, they continued their fire till near 8 ; sometime after that we perceived them to forereach on us, upon which I made the signal to make sail and about nine finding them edging away for the Gut, I made the signal to chase, which we did, and I had the misfortune to find their worst ships going outsail our best, we chased till daylight when we saw none of them, and was five Leagues to the westward of Cape Spartel. Indeed I never saw them after one in the morning. I am the most miserable

A Stern Chase

man in the world in acquainting their Lordships of this and the more so as I am afraid these ships are gone to America, where they may do much mischief, but I have done everything in my power to prevent it. While the French were coming down to me I received a letter from Mr. Colby acquainting me he had received intelligence that there were four more French men-of-war to the Eastward of Malaga ; if that be true and they were bound through the Gut, they must before this have passed me, as it began to blow very hard soon after we gave chase, and has continued to do so ever since, or I should have sent this for their lordships' information as soon as I left off. I lost the *Portland* and the *Polecare* the night of the chase, so am obliged to send the *Guernsey* with this. Captain Braithwaite in the *Polcare* joined me after I sailed from Gibraltar who I sent to Malaga to see if the French were there ; He came down to me ahead of them and having no other small vessel, I hired a Spanish Row boat which I employed to watch the enemies motions. As it was duskish before they brought too, I can't give their Lordships a particular account of their force, but believe they were not all 74-gun ships as two of them appeared smaller than the others.

"I shall return again to Gibraltar. Now Cape Spartel bears of me N.E.b.E. Distance Twenty Leagues. I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

" *Culloden*.

" CHAS. SAUNDERS.

" 10th April, 1757.

" John Cleveland, Esq."

Life of Admiral Saunders

The French squadron which thus escaped Saunders was under M. du Revest bound for Louisbourg. "Saunders' ships were too foul to deal with the Frenchmen fresh out of dock."¹ Saunders' letter was received on the 30th April, and on the 2nd May Cleveland endorsed it with instructions :—

"Let Admiral Saunders know I have communicated his letter to their Lordships who are sorry his endeavours to engage the French were attended with no better success."

On the 16th April, being then "off Europa Point," Saunders wrote :—

"Please to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I arrived here the 12th inst., when I found the intelligence I had received from Mr. Colby of four other French men-of-war besides those I chaced being to the eastward of Malaga was quite without foundation. I have received a letter from Mr. Holford, Consul at Genoa, dated the 19th March, acquainting me that Captain Collingwood in the *Syren* had sailed from that place to the Eastward, and that eighteen ships of the line besides frigates would be ready to put to sea from Toulon in this month, which they are going to employ in carying 1,200 men to reinforce the garrison at Minorca and two battalions to reinforce those troops already at Corsica and

¹ Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, Vol. i.

A Distracting Quest

to cruise to intercept our trade from Leghorn and the Levant ; our ships up there must hear of the enemies' motions much sooner than I can, so that if the French are out, I hope they won't venture to come away with the Trade. The *Hampton Court* is in the Mole and the *Xebeck* is come in with the loss of her foremast ; the other ships here are ready for sea, and if the French attempt to send any more ships through the Gut, I shall do my utmost to prevent them.

"Enclosed I send you a duplicate of a letter to you of the 3rd instant which I sent to Sir Benjamin Keen, and of another I sent by Captain Milbanke in the *Guernsey* of the 10th as likewise how those ships are employed that are from me. Since I wrote the above the *Chesterfield* and *Fortune* sloop arrived here, whose captains have this morning acquainted me that twelve leagues to the Eastward of Gibraltar Hill they fell in with four large ships which they took to be French men-of-war, on which I immediately got under sail, and am now in quest of them ; they also fell in with the four others I chased through the Gut, which occasioned their return without the Trade."

The official comment on the foregoing was : "Let him know I have communicated his letter to their Lordships who approved of his proceedings." In a letter of the 23rd April, Saunders says he has been in quest of the four large ships but has found no trace of the enemy. On the 18th he fell in with a Dutch

Life of Admiral Saunders

convoy, and he supposed " the four sail Captain Ogle saw " were part of it. What a distracting " catch-who-catch-can " business it must have been !

Nor was he able to give undivided attention to the French. There were difficulties—no novelty in Mediterranean annals—with Barbary, the doings of whose corsairs form one of the most exciting and romantic chapters in naval history. The subjects of the Prince of Saffee had captured a British galley with sailors and Minorcans on board. At the end of 1756 and beginning of 1757 Lord Tyrawley, the Governor of Gibraltar, and Rear-Admiral Saunders were endeavouring to secure the release of the captives. A letter was sent to the Prince in January to desire " a further truce of six months " ; the weather was so bad that Captain Ogle in the *Chesterfield* could not get near the shore but had to send the missive in a cask " and get off the coast again." To this letter the following is a reply. It is described as a " Translation from the Arabick of a letter from Sidy Mahomet, Prince of Saffee (son of the Emperor of Morocco), to Lord Tyrawley, Governor of Gibraltar, and Charles Saunders, Esq., Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean." It is

“English Chicanery”

refreshingly frank, and not the less so when we remember whence it emanated:—

“DATED AT THE ROYAL PALACE OF MOROCCO,

“ 24th Feb., 1757.

“Your letter by the man-of-war came to my hands. I have had it read and understand the contents. I must tell you that I have observed of all the nations in Europe the English alone spin out their Negotiations and Treaties without ever coming to a final conclusion and always find a back door for Delays and Chicanery. However, since you desire me to prolong the Truce which I made with your Ambassador, which will expire the first of next March, I grant you four months, I say a prolongation of four months which will expire the last day of June. This time is more than sufficient to write and have an answer from places at a greater distance than England, and I grant you this new Truce to the end that you may not have anything more to say in your own excuse, nor anything to blame me for. During this truce the subjects of England their persons and effects, shall be in perfect security in my dominions, under our Royal protection and Imperial good faith—that is to say, as far as concerns my ships, frigates and gallies that shall sail out of Saffee for which I am answerable for all damages they may occasion even to the value of a blanquiul [*sic*], but for what relates to Tetuan and its coasts, in case their gallies shall take any of your ships or make slaves of

Life of Admiral Saunders

the people in case any of your ships should be driven on that coast by bad weather, or that they should insult or ill treat your merchants and confiscate their goods, for such violence I declare myself not responsible and I desire you to take good care of yourselves. Beware, beware, and again beware, for Tetuan is not absolutely under our subjection, and I pronounce the truth to you that you may know upon what footing you are, I say I am answerable only for my own ships, gallists and galleys that shall sail from Sallee, and not for those from other parts.

“As to the English, your Brethren who remain here belonging to the ship *Ann* galley, they are free to embark and go where they please and always have been at full liberty.”

The letters of Saunders which have been preserved¹ enable us roughly to understand the situation. When it had been agreed that the English sailors should be redeemed on certain terms, the Alcaid of Tetuan insisted that before they were given up, the four Minorcans should be redeemed at the same time and price which, writes Saunders, “I hear is about one hundred and thirty pounds a man. The Prince has four vessels at Saffee ready for sea; however, he has published the truce with us to all his subjects, saying in the publication

¹ Admiralty In Letters, 384.

The Ransom

he makes, no doubt, but before the time is expired he shall have somebody from England to treat with him." Tyrawley and Saunders were not big enough to conduct negotiations with this mighty Potentate! The sequel may be found in the Rear-Admiral's letter of the 10th May to the Admiralty:—

"In my letter to you of the 25th March, I acquainted you for their Lordships' information that six Englishmen who were slaves in Barbary and who Captain Parker when he came up here to renew the Treaty with the Prince of Saffee, agreed to redeem, upon which they were sent to Tetuan, but the prince finding afterwards he had four Minorceens, he sent them there likewise and insisted they should be redeemed with the rest, which on Captain Parker's refusing he kept them all; these poor men being ordered a few days ago to be sent up from that place to Morocco and the likelihood there was of not redeeming them, being the occasion of stopping the communication between Barbary and this place, Lord Tyrawley and myself thought it most advisable to pay the money which we did and I have them now on board. The money came to £1,741 13s. 4d., for which we drew a Bill dated the 7th of May on the Lords of the Treasury at 30 days' sight, payable to Mr. James Read or order; the three men I mentioned in the same letter being at Sallee I have got from thence."

Life of Admiral Saunders

Cleveland's comment :—

“Let him know I have communicated his letter to their Lordships who approve of his proceedings and do not question but the Lords of the Treasury will be satisfied with the reasons given by Lord Tyrawley and himself for redeeming the captives and will pay the bill they have drawn.”

The Maritime Chessboard

CHAPTER IV

The Maritime Chessboard

OSBORNE Takes Command—Holding the Straits—The Story of the *Foudroyant*—Osborne's Tribute to Saunders—Anson wants Saunders in England.

REAR-ADMIRAL Saunders had now been in command of the Mediterranean for six months. He had done good work with the force available, but the auxiliary force which men call Luck had not been his. In any case the Mediterranean squadron, charged with the vastly important duty at once of keeping the French from passing the Straits of Gibraltar and of protecting British trade, was not strong enough for the numerous calls made on it, more particularly as every day at sea added to the foulness of the bottoms and increased the handicap in favour of the enemy. In the spring of 1757 reinforcements were sent out under Vice-Admiral Osborne who arrived in Gibraltar Bay at the end of May. If Saunders, who as we have seen was sensitive, felt any sort of regret that he was not to remain in control of the operations, we may be sure he was too good a disciplinarian to show it. He threw himself eagerly into the seconding of Osborne's efforts, and for the next twelve months they worked like brothers in the always

Life of Admiral Saunders

congenial cause of harrying the French, whether belligerents or traders, and keeping the commercial routes open for the subjects of King George. They provided their captains with opportunities for individual distinction of which the fullest advantage was taken, and kept "the coast of Provence in a state of chronic alarm which seriously hampered the progress of naval work at Toulon," says Mr. Corbett. Procrastination at home, chequered by the jealousies of politicians, the prejudices of the King, and the supineness of those with and under whom Pitt was compelled for the moment to work, did not make the task of the sailor easier. Saunders and Tyrawley, for instance, saved the Barbary captives from slavery : they could not dispose of the political problem. Soon after his arrival Osborne reported that he found "our national affairs in Barbary in a bad situation occasioned by the displeasure of Prince Benabdala that no consul is yet arrived in his Dominions, nor the usual present made to the Emperor." The four months' truce would expire at the end of the month, and the Governor of Gibraltar and the Admiral thought it proper to send Prince Benabdala presents that were at Gibraltar, with apologies for "Mr. Whatley's delay." Whatley was appointed a year previously, "and ought to

The Displeasure of Prince Benabdala

have been here by the first of last March. Nobody at this place knows where he is, but many conclude he has no intention to come at all." The presents were to be delivered by the Vice-Consul at Tetuan, but "the Prince of Saphi" was not in a mood to take anything from anybody except a properly-accredited, full-blown Consul. He therefore rejected the presents and threatened to "shut up all his ports to England in sixteen days." Imagine the energies of men whose duty it was to safeguard the interests of the Empire from the attacks of the greatest power on the Continent being frittered away by concern for the *amour propre* of a petty Prince in North Africa.

Intelligence of three French ships of the line and four frigates having "gone into the channel of Malta" reached Osborne in July, and he "judged it proper to order Rear-Admiral Saunders to proceed and cruize" with five ships off the south end of Sardinia "to prevent the ships from Malta passing that way, watering his squadron at Cagliari as he should see necessary having regard that some of them might be continually at sea"; Osborne himself "proceeded with the rest of the ships to Leghorn, and, after watering them and refreshing the sick," of which there were upwards of 160 on board the *Prince* alone, he intended to

Life of Admiral Saunders

“ proceed down the east side of Corsica and Sardinia to rejoin Rear-Admiral Saunders. This disposition I hope will prevent the enemy from joining, distress their trade, and protect our own, as seems best for the common good.” He reported on the 29th July that “ The enemy are in the greatest consternation at our sudden arrival on their coast, as they have divided the Toulon fleet, they have no hopes of getting either them together again or getting home their Levant trade and cannon which now lay at Malta ready for convoy till we are obliged to go to Gibraltar.”

The chief event was to come in November when De la Clue left Toulon with five or six sail of the line in the hope of being able to repeat the success of Du Revest which had made Saunders “ the most miserable man in the world.” De la Clue found the Straits effectually blocked and took refuge in the port of Carthagenia where he remained, carefully watched and not daring to leave, throughout the winter. In February, 1758, he put out in the belief that reinforcements were coming, but not meeting them and fearing to have the whole of Osborne’s squadron on his hands,¹ returned. Three weeks later reinforcements were on their way under the redoubtable

¹ Hannay, *A Short History of the Royal Navy*.

De La Clue and Duquesne

Duquesne, with the *Foudroyant* (80), the *Orphée* (64), and *Oriflamme* (50). Duquesne was the Governor of Canada after whom Fort Duquesne—now Pittsburg—was named: England had more than one grudge against Duquesne to wipe off the Imperial slate, but his record was as nothing beside that of the *Foudroyant*, Galissoniere's flagship in the fight off Port Mahon from which Byng retired two years previously to the shame of the British nation and his own deplorable end. The very word *Foudroyant* stirred memories of triumph in French minds and of disgrace in English. When Duquesne arrived off Carthagera one of those absurd things happened which, however absurd in themselves, may add pages to history. Duquesne and De la Clue had a little difference. Duquesne thought De la Clue should come out: De la Clue thought Duquesne should come in. The personal breeze was disposed of by a breeze of another sort. A "bit of a gale," says Mr. Corbett, sprang up and blew Duquesne right into the arms of Osborne and Saunders. Whilst Osborne held up De la Clue, he ordered pursuit of the three vessels which Duquesne had scattered in the effort to ensure their escape. Among the ships engaged in the chase was the little *Monmouth* (64), which by a dramatic coincidence was commanded by Arthur

Life of Admiral Saunders

Gardiner, Byng's flag-captain. The *Orphée* was taken by Captain Storr of the *Revenge* ; ¹ the *Oriflamme* was driven ashore, but got off and ultimately joined De la Clue in Carthagera ; ² the *Foudroyant* was pursued and tackled single-handed by the *Monmouth*. The ignominy of the last occasion on which he had set eyes on the monster had burned into Gardiner's very brain. What chance had the *Monmouth* against the *Foudroyant* ? To put the one against the other was like pitting a terrier against a bulldog. Gardiner recked nothing of the disparity. The *Monmouth* was a fine sailer, and as though to assist the dramatic *dénouement*, was the only British vessel able to overtake the *Foudroyant*. Throughout that 28th February the desperate running fight was maintained. " Whatever becomes of you and me," Gardiner is reported to have said, ³ " this ship must go to Gibraltar." Alone, separated by leagues from her fellows and possibility of help, Duquesne thought he had only to turn and rend the *Monmouth* which he could not throw off. At seven in the evening the actual fight between the David and the Goliath of the sea began : it was continued till midnight. An

¹ Corbett, Vol. i.

² Hannay.

³ Charnock.

Monmouth v. Foudroyant

unlucky shot found its billet in the gallant Gardiner, but the spirit in him was in his officers and crew. With his last breath he charged his first lieutenant, Robert Caskett, to cling on, and both ships were completely spent when at last assistance came and the proud Duquesne hauled down the *Foudroyant's* flag. "That such a man should surrender such a vessel to a force so inferior, that Galissoniere's flagship should fall to Byng's flag-captain, struck Paris cold as it fired the hopes of London."¹

Saunders' service in the Mediterranean for the time being was drawing to a close. It looked at one moment towards the end of March as though he might be called upon suddenly again to take over the command. Osborne was ill and was "obliged to leave the command of the squadron to Rear-Admiral Saunders to cruize in the Streight's mouth during the continuance of the easterly wind," whilst he went ashore to recruit. He asked permission in case he did not speedily recover to hand the reins to Saunders: "It has been no small consolation to me on this occasion that I have one of Mr. Saunders' character, conduct, and experience to leave this essential service to, as I am well convinced His Majesty's service cannot

¹ Corbett, Vol. i.

Life of Admiral Saunders

suffer when under his execution.”¹ Osborne got better, and Saunders for a month cruised to the “eastward of Gibraltar Hill,” but though the wind might have favoured them the enemy did not appear. De la Clue got away from Carthage during April, returned to Toulon, and dismantled.² Osborne wrote: “I flatter myself that the having kept that squadron eight months from passing the Streights and their being obliged to return at last will have as essentially answered His Majesty’s service in every part as it will have contributed to the glory of his arms.”

Pitt’s plans were now maturing and Saunders was wanted at home. Osborne parted with him reluctantly. He writes under date the 28th May: “It is not without great regret that I deprive myself of the assistance of an officer of his great merit, zeal, and address.” Saunders left Gibraltar on the 29th in the *Montague*, with the *Greyhound* and *Revenge*, the two prizes, *Foudroyant* and *Orphée*, and “all the trade that were at that place.” He brought with him as his prisoner Duquesne. Reaching Spithead on the 5th July, he notified Cleveland by express that if their Lordships had “no immediate service” for him, he would be

¹ Admiralty In Letters, 384.

² *Ibid.*

Anson's Confidence

glad of leave "to come to town." Permission came promptly, together with congratulations on his safe arrival. But after a few hours ashore Saunders was not at all sure whether he ought to leave. Anson had written to Hardwicke¹ in June: "I think and hope Admiral Saunders will soon be in England in whom I could confide for keeping the fleet in such discipline that I should have a pleasure in going aboard it whenever there is a necessity." Saunders found an expedition preparing, and "Lord Anson is in the bay without a flag-officer with him." Therefore he at once intimated that his request might not be seasonable: "nor do I desire it if their Lordships have any service for me, all I want is to be ashore a few days to stop the progress of the scurvy." Anson's need of such assistance as Saunders could render was great. The discipline of the navy was poor, and the officers were often ignorant of elementary tactics, notwithstanding that Hawke had so recently been in command. This state of things not merely hampered the efforts of Anson and Pitt to create a diversion in Frederick's favour by naval demonstrations along the French coast, but was peculiarly distressing to a man like Anson. "Many of the best men in the Navy

¹ Yorke, *Life of Hardwicke*, Vol. iii.

Life of Admiral Saunders

during the Seven Years' War had learnt their first lessons and gained invaluable experience during their service" ¹ with him on his voyage round the world, and that he had the greatest faith in all of them his correspondence and patronage proves. ² His confidence was the more striking in that Saunders never had the chance of fighting a considerable action. Even now in the latter half of '58 the opportunity was denied him. He assisted the blockade of Brest with Anson and Holmes, Hawke being ill, and was left to endeavour to intercept the French squadron from Quebec. He did not, however, fall in with it, and went back to port without having seen more than an odd enemy's ship.

Saunders belonged to that category well described by Hannay when speaking of Osborne: "A good representative of that large body of naval officers whose names are associated with no single action of great renown but who did much and varied service, and who contributed to the glory of more fortunate rivals by weary cruising and vigilant watch, far away from the scene where more brilliant reputations were being earned." ³ The Hawkes and the Rodneys would be lesser, or greater, men in the eyes of

¹ Clowes, *Royal Navy*, Vol. iii.

² *Life of Anson*, by Captain Anson.

³ *Short History of the Royal Navy*.

Return to England

history if the war chessboard were occupied by no such knights as Saunders and Osborne. Mr. Corbett says that Saunders returned to Spithead on 22nd October and was summoned to town, but could not go at once because of an injury to a leg.¹ As a matter of fact he was writing to Pitt from the "*Shrewsbury* off Brest" on the 25th October to report that he had been joined by Captain Harrison of the *Venus*, who had recaptured an English privateer that had been taken by a French frigate. He learned from prisoners that ten sail of the line were fitting out and that in Brest were a sufficient number of men to man them.² A month later he wrote from the "*Ramillies* at sea" that he had sent the *Shrewsbury* to Plymouth for repairs with orders to rejoin him. He was endeavouring to spread his net wider; and with a change of the wind, which had been more or less easterly, he promised to send a ship to look into Brest as soon as possible.³ It seems improbable that he was at Spithead in October, and Mr. Clowes is doubtless right in saying that he returned to England in the middle of December.⁴

¹ *England in the Seven Years' War*, Vol. i.

² Chatham Papers, P.R.O., 55.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Royal Navy*.

The Quebec Expedition and a
Controversy

CHAPTER V

The Quebec Expedition and a Controversy

THE Quebec Expedition—Saunders to Command the Fleet—
Secret Instructions—A Controversy Disposed of—Durell's
Delay—Saunders' Despatch to Pitt.

WHATEVER the date of Rear-Admiral Saunders' arrival in London it is pretty certain that there must have been some special communication between him and Anson as to the immediate future. It was in the middle of December, 1758, that Pitt summoned Wolfe to town to impart to him the news that it was intended to make him commander of the Quebec expedition. Pitt and Anson by that time must have made up their minds as to who his naval colleague should be. Saunders' return to port practically at the same moment that Wolfe was on his way from Bath, seems something more than coincidence. If Pitt knew what he was about when he selected Wolfe for the Quebec command, Anson was even more sure, having larger experience of his man, in recommending Saunders for the naval command. "Saunders had a high service reputation, but he was little known outside," says Major Wood.¹ "Yet as he was not much in the public eye,

¹ *Logs of the Conquest of Canada.*

Life of Admiral Saunders

Pitt required some moral strength to put him in command of the greatest British fleet then afloat in any part of the world." Pitt's eye was as keen for naval as for military competency, and his genius for selecting his instruments was never more strikingly shown than in sending Wolfe and Saunders to take Quebec—if they could. Admiral and General had never met,¹ and Mr. Beckles Willson suggests that Wolfe had some doubts as to their possible relations. But Wolfe was too assiduous a student of national affairs to be in ignorance of Saunders' character, and if superiority to conventional methods when the conventional was obviously not the best, if energy, resource, and the desire to advance the public service did not make his naval colleague the very man Wolfe himself would have selected, then I am afraid he demanded the impossible. Mr. Beckles Willson tells us that in Saunders he found "a man after his own heart in his singleness of purpose and he resolved that this unanimity should extend throughout the service."²

Saunders, then, was to be naval Commander-in-Chief in the St. Lawrence, with Rear-Admiral Durell as his second, and Rear-Admiral Holmes as his third. The expedition was to sail in

¹ Beckles Willson, *Life and Letters of James Wolfe*.

² *Ibid.*

Preparing the Way

February, and already on the 27th December, 1758, Pitt said that the squadron was forward in its preparations.¹ Durell was to go ahead at the earliest moment, to get as far up the St. Lawrence as possible, and to perform the double service of preparing the way for Saunders and the transports carrying Wolfe's troops, and of preventing "any succours" from passing up the river to Quebec. In other words, Durell was to block up the St. Lawrence so far as the French were concerned. Pitt's energy in directing preparations was amazing. He wrote explicit instructions to Durell ; to Amherst in America to have stores and colonial troops ready for Saunders at Louisbourg when he should arrive there in April ; to Wolfe and to Saunders, so that every one of the officers who were entrusted with the execution of his great scheme might know precisely what was in his mind and have the benefit of his inspiring words. Diligence was invoked all round, and he wrote to Saunders on the 20th January, 1759, that if the disposition of arms, tents, etc., ordered by him could not be made in the Downs or at Spithead without even the least delay to the sailing, then the ordnance vessels and transports were to proceed with all expedition to New York and get the necessary things

¹ Wood, *Logs of the Conquest of Canada*.

Life of Admiral Saunders

there. Wolfe was told in secret instructions that he was "to make the most pressing instances" to Amherst and Saunders, and in the event of Quebec being captured it was left to him and Saunders to determine what ulterior operations higher up the river should be undertaken in concert with Amherst who would be advancing towards Montreal. The concluding passage in His Majesty's Secret Instruction to the Brigadier-General ran :—

"Whereas the Success of this Expedition will very much depend upon an entire Good Understanding between our Land and Sea Officers, We do hereby strictly enjoin and require you, on your part, to maintain and cultivate such a good Understanding and Agreement, and to order that the Soldiers under Your Command, shall man the ships when there shall be occasion for them, and when they can be spared from the Land Service, as the Commander in Chief of Our Squadron is instructed on His Part to entertain and cultivate the same good Understanding and Agreement and to order the Sailors and Marines, under his Command to assist Our Land Forces, and to man the Batteries when there shall be occasion for them and when they can be spared from the Sea Service ; and in order to establish the strictest Union that may be, between You and the Commander-in-Chief of Our Ships, You are hereby required to communicate these Instructions to Him as he is required to communicate those He shall receive from Us to You."

Amphibious Operations

Much controversy has been devoted to the question of the respective parts played by the army and navy in the reduction of Quebec, the "blue water school" insisting that it was a naval affair essentially, and that Wolfe's army was only a large landing-party, the military side contending that the fleet held a merely subordinate and transport position. It is a controversy, to my mind, wanting alike in dignity and worthiness. Army and navy were equally indispensable to the taking of a fortress with a mighty river on one side and a well-guarded country on the other. Quebec was the best of all examples of Pitt's genius for what Mr. Corbett happily defines as "amphibious operations," and that Pitt intended Saunders' and Wolfe's forces to dovetail and in no way regard themselves as independent, could not be more clearly established than in the terms of the Commander's secret instructions, which simply make all argument superfluous. The operations cannot be properly understood if we ignore either the letter or the spirit of those instructions.

Durell was on the other side of the Atlantic, and Holmes had left in advance with a fleet of transports, six sail of the line, and nine frigates, when Wolfe joined Saunders on the *Neptune* at Spithead on the 13th February. Saunders,

Life of Admiral Saunders

who the previous year had been made Rear-Admiral of the White, was now advanced to Vice-Admiral of the Blue. On the 17th he put to sea with ten sail of the line and several smaller vessels, hoping to reach the rendezvous at Louisbourg by the 20th April. On 10th March he wrote to Pitt :—

“As I am now detaching His Majesty’s Ship *Lizard* to New York, to assist in forwarding the Embarcation of the Troops, and convoying them to Louisburg, it gives me this Opportunity of acquainting you, for His Majesty’s Information, that I am now in the Latitude of $46^{\circ} 30'$ No. and 11 degrees West Longitude, from the *Lizard* ; and that I intend, to-morrow, or next Day, to send to Admiral Durell, to enforce the absolute necessity there is, for his being very early in the River St. Lawrence.

“As that part of the Squadron which winter’d in America, must be short of their Complement of Seamen, I have wrote, by the *Lizard*, to the Governors of New York, and Massachusetts’ Bay, to desire they will raise what Men they can, for the Squadron under my Command.

“By the time of my Arrival at Louisburg, or soon after, I hope to have a full Account from Captⁿ. Hood, who commands the Ships that are to convoy the Troops thither, of the Situation and Forwardness he is in ; I shall likewise expect the same from Admiral Durell ; and I beg you will assure His Majesty, that I will myself, with the Transports, be in the river, as

Weather Bound

soon as possible, in order to put my Instructions into farther Execution.”¹

They reached Louisbourg on the 21st April, but Saunders found that he could not get into the harbour. “There was such a crust of ice all along the shore from Scutari to St. Esprit,” wrote Wolfe to Amherst, “that it was by no means safe to push in nor, indeed, possible at that time.” They made for Halifax, and here, on the 30th April, they found that nothing had been heard of Holmes, and to their intense disappointment Durell was riding at anchor. The weather had been severe and Durell had been unable to make a start for the St. Lawrence. Wolfe was impatient, as was his wont, and appears to have thought that Durell had tarried unduly. He wrote to his uncle a little later to say that “the Admiral Commander-in-Chief of the fleet is a zealous, brave officer,” but he had doubts as to some others. Saunders’ letter sent to Pitt from the *Neptune* in Halifax Harbour on the 1st May does not reflect any of the irritability which characterised so large a part of Wolfe’s correspondence :—

“I proceeded myself for Louisburg, but on the 21st was stopt by a Body of Ice . . . nor could I, or any of my small Ships find an opening, to

¹ A. & W. I., Vol. lxxxviii. See Kimball, *Correspondence of William Pitt with Colonial Governors*.

Life of Admiral Saunders

get between that and the land, which I endeavoured to do, till the 29th when meeting with some New England small vessels, bound to Louisburg who had given up all hopes of getting thither, and had bore up for some port to the Westward, and the Wind being at this time very

<i>Princess Amelia</i>	fresh Easterly, with much
<i>Vanguard</i>	Snow and hard Frost ; and
<i>Alcide</i>	judging . . . that it would not
<i>Devonshire</i>	be possible in Ten Days at
<i>Captain</i>	least, to get into Louisburg,
<i>Pembroke</i>	I thought it best for his
<i>Centurion</i>	Majesty's Service, to bear
<i>Prince of Orange</i>	up for this place, where I
<i>Crown</i>	anchored the 30th, and found
<i>Squirrel</i>	Admiral Durell, with the
<i>Hunter Sloop</i>	ships named in the margin,
<i>Cormorant</i>	unmoored and ready to Sail.
<i>Pelican</i>	He waits only for a wind,
<i>Baltimore</i>	and I hope will sail to-
	morrow. He has on board
	his Squadron 400 of the

Troops, with their Officers, to make their Complements, and General Wolfe has sent with him 250 more, in three Transports under the Command of Col. Carleton, to coöperate with Admiral Durell, in any Service that may be thought practicable, before our joyning them.

" I shall refit and water my ships here, and if the Transports from New York arrive while that is doing, I shall carry them with me to Louisburg ; if not, I shall leave Orders for them to follow me, with the utmost expedition.

" Admiral Holmes is not yet arrived ; I hope

Bougainville's Escape

to see him in a few days, or before I sail ; if not, I shall leave Directions for him to refitt with all possible Dispatch, and proceed after Adm^l. Durell.

“I have had no Intelligence of the Enemy since I left England, but it is reported here from New England that Mons^r. Bompert is arrived at Martinico with Ten Sail of the Line and two Frigates.”

Durell was not able to leave, unfortunately, till the 5th, and was too late to intercept Bougainville who got through with reinforcements and provisions in the nick of time, reaching Quebec only on the 10th. Quebec was known to be in sore need of such succour, and Bougainville's escape, whilst it meant a great deal to Montcalm who was to conduct the defence throughout that summer, added materially to the difficulties which Wolfe and Saunders had to face. Durell arrived off the Isle of Bic by the 23rd, ran up the French flag and captured some French pilots, and with their unwilling assistance and the British genius for navigation, continued his course to the Isle aux Coudres where he landed 650 men under Carleton within twenty leagues of Quebec. The French had removed every possible danger sign on the river and believed that its treacherous shoals and currents would involve half the British fleet in disaster long before the expedition got within striking distance of Quebec.

Life of Admiral Saunders

The French were in the habit of regarding as overwhelming risks which men like Anson and Hawke and Saunders faced, confident that where the enemy could pass they could find their way too. As far up as Coudres, Durell had left the passage clear for the main fleet and transports. Saunders left Halifax eight days after Durell, was at Louisbourg on the 15th, and till the 4th of June was engaged with Wolfe in the formidable task of getting everything ready for the advance through the Gulf and up the river of twenty-two ships of war and 119 other vessels carrying Wolfe's little army of eight or nine thousand men. Of the anxieties of the two chiefs Saunders' must have been infinitely the greater, because he had to meet Wolfe's views as far as possible, while seeking to carry out the programme which, as Naval Commander-in-Chief, it devolved upon him to arrange. However, with Wolfe on board, the *Neptune* was once more at sea, and Saunders, in the midst of his preoccupations, the control of the fleet, the drawing up of innumerable orders for the guidance of his captains, the masters of the transports, and all the rest of it,¹ sent off the following letter to Pitt :—

¹ Wood's *Logs of the Conquest of Canada* contains the fullest technical account of these orders, of interest to the naval student rather than the general reader.

Saunders to Pitt

"NEPTUNE, OFF 'SCUTARI,

"6th June, 1759.

"Sir,

"On the 1st Ult^o. I wrote to you in some hurry by an officer of Artillery going to England from Halifax, and omitted to acquaint you therein, that besides His Majesty's Ships mentioned in my said letter, I found riding there, the *Richmonde* and *Lowestoffe*, the former of which had arrived from Plymouth the 14th, and the latter from Virginia, the 20th of April last.

"Rear Admiral Durell sailed from Halifax the 5th Ult^o. being detained till that time by contrary winds; on the 12th, all the ships that

Neptune
Royal William
Shrewsbury
Oxford
Dublin
Alcide
Stirling Castle
Medway
Pelican
Racehorse
Baltimore
Rodney Cutter

went in with me being refitted, I unmoored, and on the 13th sailed from Halifax, with His Majesty's Ships named in the margin, leaving the *Lowestoffe* and *Hunter Sloop*, to convoy to Louisburg, any Transports that might arrive, and the Three Fireships and *Europa* armed vessel, to take in Troops, in case such Transports as did arrive in Time, were not sufficient to contain them.

In my Passage out of the Harbor I was joined by the *Somerset* (Rear Admiral Holmes) and the *Terrible*, both of which proceeded into the Harbor, with Orders to refit, and join me at Louisburg, where we anchor'd the 15th ult^o.

"During my stay at Halifax, One Company of Rangers embarked in two Schooners, and are sent to reinforce the Troops with Rear Admiral

Life of Admiral Saunders

Durell, under Convoy of Capt. Douglas of the *Alcide*, who, with the *Stirling Castle*, parted Company with me the 14th in order to join him in the River St. Lawrence : as Mr. Durell had no small vessel with him and none being arrived from the Continent, I thought it absolutely necessary to take into the Service, an armed Schooner at Halifax which seemed very proper for the purpose, and have sent her to him also under the *Alcide's* Convoy ; I have also found it needful to take up a small Sloop at Louisburg ; On my Arrival there I found his Majesty's Ship

<i>Neptune</i>	arrived the day before I did)
<i>Bedford</i>	and the <i>Bedford</i> and <i>Prince</i>
<i>Dublin</i>	<i>Frederick</i> , the two latter in a
<i>Northumberland</i>	very bad Condition, both as
<i>Oxford</i>	to Men and Stores, but they
<i>Royal William</i>	sailed with me from Louis-
<i>Shrewsbury</i>	burg the 4th Instant, in
<i>Medway</i>	Company with His Majesty's
<i>Prince Frederick</i>	Ships named in the margin
<i>Diana</i>	and 119 Sail in Convoy, viz.,

Trent

Hind

English—

<i>Lowestoffe</i>	Transports	34
<i>Hunter Sloop</i>	Ordnance Vessels ..	7
<i>Cormorant</i>	Victuallers	4

Vesuvius

Strombolo

American—

<i>Pelican</i>	Ordnance Vessels ..	6
<i>Racehorse</i>	Transports, including	
<i>Baltimore</i>	Sloops and Schooners	68

Europa

<i>Rodney Cutter</i>		119
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Transports and Troops

“Of the Remainder of the English Transports, seven are missing, there being yet no account of their Arrival in America, several of them are gone to Boston, for 300 Pioneers, Whale Boats, and other necessary Stores, and several of them remain at New York, to repair the damages they received in their Passage; His Majesty's ships *Scarborough* and *Sea Horse* are with them under Orders to join me with all the Artillery and Troops on board them designed for the River St. Lawrence except one Company of Rangers from the Bay of Fundy, and 40 of Bragg's Regiment, that are on the island St. Johns, who are all hourly expected from thence.

“On the 17th Ult^o, the first of the Troops and Provincials, arrived at Louisburg from New York, under Convoy of the *Lizard* and *Trent*; those from Boston, the Bay of Fundy, and Halifax were off the Harbour a few Days after them, but by the vast quantity of Ice surrounding the Harbor, with constant thick Fogs, they were prevented getting in (the greatest part of them) for ten Days at least. On the 27th the Harbor was so entirely filled up with Ice, that for several Days it was not practicable for Boats to pass. . . . I have stationed the *Lizard*, at the entrance of the River St. Lawrence, between the N.W. End of the Island of Anticosti, and the Southern Shore, and shall, as soon as I am able, station another Frigate between Anticosti and the Northern Shore; I likewise sent the *Nightingale* to cruize between Cape North and Cape Ray, and the Bird Islands, who returned very

Life of Admiral Saunders

leaky, as I was getting under Sail, having met with great Quantities of Ice, but spoke with nothing in her Cruize ; I have left her at Louisburg, with Orders to be ready to sail at a Moment's Warning, and I intend to send her to England with these Dispatches, which I shall send in to her, by an Armed Vessel.

"Governor Pownall has supplied the Fleet with 240 Men from Boston, which has been of great Service, to the Ships that were weakly handed, but, by his Contract with them they must be left behind in America.

"There are still at Louisburg a Number of French Prisoners and Inhabitants, that have been maintained at great Expence, and taken up much Room in the Hospitals, that has been wanted for our own People, I have therefore ordered one of the Victuallers, which I have discharged of her Provisions, to take in such of them as Governor Whitmore shall appoint, and carry them to France, taking from thence, such English Prisoners in their Room as he shall be able to obtain.

"The *Alcide*, in her Passage to the Gulph of St. Lawrence, has taken a French ship of 280 Tuns, from Rochelle, laden, chiefly, with Military Stores, and Clothing for the French Troops in Canada ; I have not the least Information from her, or from any other Quarter, of the Ships or Motions of the Enemy.

"I am now off the Island of Scutari, and standing for the Gulph of St. Lawrence, with the Wind at West, the whole Number of Transports

Saunders' Humour

not having been able to get out to me, 'till this morning—

“I have the Honor to be, with the greatest Respect, Sir,

“Your most obedient humble Servant,

“CHAS. SAUNDERS.”

Before he actually sailed, we are told¹ he not only issued his instructions as to the order of sailing, assigning to each vessel its position and duties, but he pointed out to each Master of a hired transport that if orders were not promptly and precisely obeyed they would be fired on, “adding, with a touch of grim humour, that the cost of the powder and shot so expended would be carefully noted and charged against the hire of the offending ship.”

¹ Kitson, *Life of Captain Cook*.

A Soldier's Impatience and a Sailor's
Promptitude

CHAPTER VI

A Soldier's Impatience and a Sailor's Promptitude

AN Imposing Naval Spectacle—Up the St. Lawrence—The Humours of a Master—Wolfe's Impatience—Truth About Saunders' Co-operation—An Interesting Exchange of Letters—Wolfe's Victory and Death—Saunders Goes to Assist Hawke.

THE sight of those 141 vessels of all sorts and sizes, Saunders' squadron in three divisions, the White, Red, and Blue, moving on towards the St. Lawrence in the alternating June sunshine and fog, must have been one of the most imposing and picturesque in naval records: all the more so because of the unknown dangers which might await it. It was a vastly different fleet from that which the Kirkes and Phips, or any French Admiral, had elected to take up the mighty river. The last British fleet which had attempted it forty-eight years previously went to pieces off the island of Anticosti. Now "the might of the Empire, directed by its brains, swept up the great waterway."¹ Wolfe's recently-recovered journal² of this particular time shows him in querulous mood, and inclined to call the naval

¹ Wood, *Logs of the Conquest of Canada*.

² Beckles Willson, *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1910.

Life of Admiral Saunders

arrangements in question on the smallest provocation. If Wolfe was disposed to be as critical of Saunders as Mr. Beckles Willson would have us believe, the line in Wolfe's Will dated *Neptune*, 8th June, 1759: "I desire Admiral Saunders to accept of my light service of plate in remembrance of his guest," serves at least to dispose of the idea that the General was labouring under any deep and enduring sense of annoyance. He was anxious to get on, but even Wolfe could not hold Saunders responsible for the atmosphere. Fogs and adverse winds compelled slow progress. There is something wrong about the diary as printed. On the 10th (probably a mistake for the 18th), Wolfe says: "About 8 the fleet anchored a little below Bic. Captain Hankerson told Mr. Saunders that there had been no ice in the River these two months. The succours from France anchored at Bic the 9th May." Hankerson was Captain of the *Richmond* and had been up to Coudres with Durell. The *Neptune* made Bic on the 19th, and on that date the log reports: "Ye *Richmond* joind us: brot an acct. that Adm^l Durell and his squadron had got up to Cowdre." The dates are conflicting in any case. On the 19th Wolfe entered in his diary—indulging himself in what Mr. Beckles Willson calls "a slight fling at Durell's superior, Saunders":—

"The fleet got under way about 4 in the

Slow Progress

morning, but the Fog came on so thick we were obliged to anchor before 7. The Admiral running all the great ships of war in amongst the Divisions of the Transports, threatened some danger and a good deal of disorder as the wind blew fresh. It seemed most natural to order such ships of war only as were intended for the service at Quebec to proceed with the Divisions, the rest remaining behind at an anchor as a Rear Guard untill the Navigation was entirely free. At 2 went into the *Richmond* that I might the sooner confer with Mr. Durell and get some knowledge of the country—anchored at Green Island with the White Division—read a number of letters from Quebec, painting their distress in the liveliest manner. All in general agree that they must have starved if the succours from France had not arrived.”

Wolfe’s wish was to go forward with the transports, leaving the men-of-war to come up at leisure. Was that the original design? or was it due to a momentary thought of independent action? What could he hope to do without the support of the squadron if he reached Quebec Basin? Mr. Corbett takes the view¹ that the news of Durell’s failure to prevent Bougainville getting up, influenced Saunders’ intentions. “If the news was bad, on the other hand Wolfe now knew he was to have a powerful support on which he had not counted.

¹ *England in the Seven Years’ War*, Vol. i.

Life of Admiral Saunders

It came from Saunders. What Wolfe had expected from him we know—a few ships to assist in the siege while the Admiral and the bulk of the fleet covered the army in a position in which they could also prevent a counterstroke on Louisbourg and Halifax. If this had ever been the Admiral's idea of one function of his fleet"—I confess I very much doubt it—"he had thrown it to the winds in face of his colleague's difficulties. Louisbourg and Halifax must trust to their own strength, the quickness of his cruisers and the vigilance of the covering fleets of Hawke and Boscawen. He had come to take Quebec. . . . Saunders was a man who could not hold off when fighting was in the wind. So away he went to share at first hand all Wolfe's anxieties and dangers, and all the bitterness of failure if failure it was to be."

That was the spirit of the true comrade, and we must make a very large allowance for temperament in Wolfe, an allowance which will only heighten our respect for Saunders, if the note struck in Wolfe's diary is not to jar grievously. He had transferred himself to the *Richmond*, and would now be able to move ahead more quickly. Three days later Saunders himself reached the Isle-aux-Coudres, and on the evening of the following day hoisted his flag on the *Stirling Castle*. They had reached

A Plan of the
RIVER ST LAURENCE,
from
Sillery to the Fall of Montmerenci,
with the Operations of the
SIEGE of QUEBEC,
under the Command of
Vice Adm. Saunders & Maj. Gen. Wolfe.
5th Sep. 1759.

Pub. 250 July 1760 by L. Storchdale Piccadilly

Part of the
Upper River of
ST LAURENCE.



A View of the Action
gained by the English
Sep. 13 1759 near
QUEBEC.



DEFENCES of QUEBEC.

Batteries.	N ^o of Guns.	M ^{or}	Batteries.	N ^o of Guns.	M ^{or}
A. The Citadel	9	0	of the Kings Yard	3	0
B. The Clergy on Barbette	2	8 5	H. New Batt ^y at the lower		
C. Sailors leap	7	0	part of the Kings Yard	3	0
D. The Hospital	2	0	I. Royal Battery	10	0
E. A New Battery over the			K. Dauphin Battery	10	0
Setty pointed thro Pickets	2	0	L. New Battery	7	0
F. Queens Batt ^y no Guns mounted	0	0	M. New Battery	3	0
G. New Battery at the upper port					

British Miles



The Survey

a stage in the navigation where the greatest troubles might be expected; they were approaching the passage known as the Traverse, which the French authorities and pilots alike regarded as the certain grave of Saunders' fleet. Durell had been active whilst at the Isle-aux-Coudres in surveying the river, and checking such charts¹ as had fallen into British hands. As he had with him the master-surveyor, James Cook, who was to become famous as the great navigator, the work was pretty thoroughly done. Cook was Master of the *Pembroke*, and his log describes how, with "boats man'd and arm'd," they set out on the 9th June to sound the Traverse, how on the 10th they "went on sounding as before," and on the 11th how he "ret^d. satisfied with being acquainted with y^e Channel." Knox gives a diverting account² of the passing of the Traverse by Saunders' squadron: the page from his journal has often been quoted, but part of it must be repeated here. French pilots had been seized, and some of them were a menace rather than a security. It was the 25th June, and Knox wrote:—

¹ Cook's *Charts*, published a year or two later under the direction of Saunders, are given by Wood with the *Logs of the Conquest of Canada*, and very interesting studies they are.

² Knox's *Journal*, Vol. i.

Life of Admiral Saunders

“As soon as the pilot came on board to-day he gave his directions for the working of the ship, but the master would not permit him to speak ; he fixed his mate at the helm, charged him not to take orders from any person except himself, and going forward with his trumpet to the forecastle, gave the necessary instructions. All that could be said by the Commanding Officer and the other Gentlemen on board was to no purpose ; the pilot declared we should be lost, for that no French ship ever presumed to pass there without a pilot : ‘Aye, aye, my dear (replied our son of Neptune), but damn me I’ll convince you that an Englishman shall go where a Frenchman dare not show his nose.’ The *Richmond* frigate being close astern of us, the Commanding Officer called out to the Captain and told him our case ; he enquired who the Master was ? and was answered from the forecastle by the man himself, who told him he was old Killick, and that was enough. I went forward with this experienced mariner, who pointed out the channel to me as we passed, showing me by the ripple and colour of the water, where there was any danger, and distinguishing the places where there were ledges of rocks (to me invisible) from banks of sand, mud or gravel. He gave his orders with great unconcern, joked with the landing boats who lay off on each side with different coloured flags for our guidance ; and when any of them called to him and pointed to the deepest water, he answered ‘Aye, aye, my dear, chalk it down a damned dangerous navigation, eh ; if you don’t

Laughing at Dangers

make a sputter about it, you'll get no credit for it in England, etc.' After we had cleared this remarkable place, where the channel forms a complete zigzag, the Master called for his mate to give the helm to somebody else, saying 'Damn me, if there are not a thousand places in the Thames fifty times more hazardous than this; I am ashamed that Englishmen should make such cavil about it.' The Frenchman asked me if the Captain had not been here before? I assured him in the negative, upon which he viewed me with great attention, lifting at the same time his hands and eyes to heaven with astonishment and fervency."

However lightly Master Killick may have viewed the Traverse, a load of anxiety must have been removed from Saunders' mind when the leading ships and the bulk of the transports were safely through; on the 26th June Wolfe was off the west end of the Isle of Orleans, and in the afternoon he was joined by Saunders, who had come up specially in the *Lowestoft*, leaving the *Stirling Castle*, which was henceforth to be his flagship, to follow. What did those two gallant spirits think and say as they looked across the Basin of Quebec at the fortress and city on the cliff at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles? Wolfe and Saunders were soon busy getting the men from the transports on to the Isle of

Life of Admiral Saunders

Orleans ; Durell had been left at Coudres to prevent relief coming up the river, and General and Admiral were free to adopt the measures they deemed best calculated to reduce Quebec, or if they failed in that, to keep Montcalm fully occupied whilst Amherst was making his way from Niagara to Montreal. The enemy were active ; they sent down fireships and radeaux ;¹ and they made a hot place of the Basin into which Saunders took his ships rather than have them cooped up in the comparatively narrow channel of the river. The Beauport shore on the north of the Basin, from the St. Charles to the Montmorency Falls, was strongly entrenched and well guarded, and Wolfe's idea of a smart action at the crossing of the St. Charles was defeated because the St. Charles was ungettable. Mr. Beckles Willson has always made a point of Wolfe's desire to get above the town, but that, anyone who has stood on the heights of Quebec must realise, was a desire which only the very best of good fortune could have gratified. That Saunders was in any way remiss or unwilling to promote his schemes there is nothing to show save some references which may or may not bear the interpretation which the most uncompromising

¹ There are two weird pictures of the fireships at Quebec in the Museum at Greenwich Hospital.

Wolfe's Impatience

of hero-worship puts upon them. That Saunders was as alive to possibilities and necessities as Wolfe himself is proved by the very first suggestion he made—a suggestion on which Wolfe acted. The French were strongly posted at Point Levi, the point which juts into the Basin from the south shore and partly obstructs the view of the Isle of Orleans from Quebec. They must be dislodged if the fleet was to be safe. To secure possession of the cliff here and at Point-aux-Pères, opposite Quebec, would give Wolfe the opportunity for effective bombardment. The French were smartly cleared out and the erection of batteries at Point-aux-Pères begun. Saunders, I am convinced, was prepared to run any risks short of the strong probability of sacrificing a good many excellent ships in a vain effort, and all the evidence goes to show that when wind and tide permitted he seized the opportunity of sending ships past Quebec, though apparently the object was as much to get at the French vessels with which Bougainville had managed to elude Durell in May as to further Wolfe's military schemes. Wolfe's diary of the 3rd July certainly says: "Consultation with the Admiral about landing—our notions agreeing to get ashore if possible above the town, we determined to attempt it," but they also agreed to begin by a bombardment of the town from Point-aux-Pères, and

Life of Admiral Saunders

it was not until the 12th that Wolfe was ready to open his batteries. Did Wolfe seriously entertain the belief that the ships could pass Quebec without assistance from his own artillery at the Point-aux-Pères ?

And if he was so overwhelmingly keen on going above the town why, on the 8th, did he send a large part of his army to take up its position to the east of the Falls of Montmorency ? a post he abandoned after his disastrous attack on the Beauport shore on the 31st July. It has been stated and is repeated by Captain Anson,¹ that in July Saunders selected Jervis to lead the way past Quebec in the *Porcupine*. Wolfe is said to have been on board when the attempt was made and failed, the *Porcupine* being at one time in extreme peril. How is it that so important an incident escapes mention both by Saunders and in the log of the *Porcupine* so far as Wood gives it ? On the 16th, 18th, and 19th July Wolfe makes these entries :—

“16th.—Conference with the Admiral concerning the projected Descent—remaining Grandrs. ordered to the Rendezvous in the Isle of Orleans.

“A squadron of men-of-war were to have gone by the Town to post themselves above. The wind fair, night seemingly favourable to their wish, but yet Capt. Rous did not go there.

¹ *Life of St. Vincent.*

Running the Gauntlet

"18th.—The *Sutherland*, *Squirrel*, two transp^{ts.}, and 2 armed sloops passed the narrow passages between Quebec and Levy without losing a man.

"19th.—Reconnoitred the country immediately above Quebec and found that if we had ventured the stroke that was first intended we should infallibly have succeeded."

"Infallibly" was subsequently scored through and "probably" substituted—in my view a much more significant alteration than Mr. Beckles Willson recognises. Four days later Wolfe records that "the *Lowestoffe* and *Hunter* endeavouring to pass the Town were taken aback." The log of the *Hunter* says: "When abreast of the town the wind took us short, and the French firing at us from their quarters in the town we could not sail to windward of Point Levey; was obliged to put back."

The last commentary on Wolfe's diary and Mr. Beckles Willson's suggestion of "foiled plans" is provided by Admiral Saunders' letter to Pitt setting forth the order of events from the time of the British arrival opposite Quebec to within eight days of the fall.

"STIRLING CASTLE, OFF POINT LEVI,

"5th Sept., 1759.

"Sir,

"In my letter of the 6th of June last, I acquainted you I was then off Scutari, standing

Life of Admiral Saunders

for the River St. Lawrence. On the 26th I had got up with the first Division of the Fleet and Transports, as far as the middle of the Isle of Orleans, when I immediately prepared to land them there, which I did the next morning ; the same Day the second and Third Divisions came up and landed likewise ; I got thus far without any Loss or Accident whatever ; but directly after landing the Troops, a very hard gale of wind came on, by which many Anchors and small Boats were lost, and much damage received among the Transports by their running on board each other. The Ships that lost Anchors I supplied from the Men of War, as far as I was able, and in all other Respects gave them the best Assistance in my Power. On 28th at Midnight the Enemy sent down from Quebec, seven Fireships ; and tho' our Ships and Transports were so numerous, and necessarily spread so great a part of the Channel, we towed them all clear and aground, without receiving the least Damage from them. The next Night General Monckton crossed the River, and landed with his Brigade on the South Shore, and took post at Point Levi ; and General Wolfe took his on the Westernmost point of the Isle of Orleans.

“On the 1st of July I moved up between the points of Orleans and Levi ; and it being resolved a few Days afterwards, to land on the North Shore, just below the Falls of Montmorenci, on the 8th I placed His Majesty's Sloop the *Porcupine* and the Boscawen Armed Vessel in the Channel between Orleans and the

Saunders to Pitt

North Shore, to cover that Landing, which took place that night.

“On the 17th I ordered Captain Rous of the *Sutherland* to proceed with the first Night Tide and fair Wind, above the Town, and to take with him his Majesty’s Ships *Diana* and *Squirrel* with two Armed Sloops and two Catts armed, and loaded with provisions ; These ships gave General Wolfe an Opportunity to reconnoitre above the Town, and they carried Troops for that Purpose. On the 18th at Night they all got up, but the *Diana*, who run on the Rocks by point Levi, and received so much Damage that I sent her to Boston with 27 Sail of American Transports (of those that received most Damage in the Gale of Wind of the 27th of June), where they are to be discharged and the *Diana*, having repaired her Damages is to proceed to England, taking with her the Mast Ships, and what Trade may be ready to accompany her.

“On the 28th at night, the Enemy sent down a Raft of Fire-Stages, of near a hundred Radeaux, which succeeded no better than the Fire Ships.

“On the 31st, Gen^l. Wolfe determined to land a number of Troops above the Falls of Montmorenci, in order to attack the Enemy’s Lines, to cover which I placed the *Centurion* in the Channel, between the Isle of Orleans and the Falls, and ran two Catts I had armed for that purpose, on shore at high water, against two small Batteries and two Redoubts, where our Troops were to land ; About 6 at night they landed, but the General, not thinking it proper

Life of Admiral Saunders

to persevere in the attack, part of them re-embarked, and the rest, with General Wolfe, crossed the Falls to our Camp, Upon which, to prevent the two Catts from falling into the Enemy's hands, they being then dry on shore, I gave Orders to take the Men out, and set them on fire, which was accordingly done.

"On the 5th of August in the night, I sent twenty flat-bottomed Boats up the River to the *Sutherland*, to embark twelve hundred and sixty of the Troops, from a Post we had taken on the South Shore, to which they were to march under the Command of Brigad^r. General Murray, I sent Admiral Holmes up with him by land to go on board the *Sutherland*, to act in concert with him, and give him all the Assistance the Ships and Boats could afford. I likewise ordered Admiral Holmes to endeavour to get at and destroy the Enemy's Ships above the Town ; and to that Purpose I ordered the *Lowestoffe* and *Hunter Sloop*, with two armed Sloops and two Catts with Provisions to pass Quebec and join the *Sutherland*, but the Winds being Westerly, it was the 27th before they got up, which was the Fourth Attempt they had made to gain their passage.

"On the 25th at night, Admiral Holmes and General Murray, with part of the Troops returned. They had met with and destroyed a Magazine of the Enemy's cloathing, some Gunpowder and other things ; and Admiral Holmes had been ten or twelve leagues up the River, but found it impracticable at that time to get farther up.

"General Wolfe, having resolved to quit the

Above the Town

Camp at Montmorenci, and go above the Town, in hopes of getting between the Enemy and their Provisions, supposed to be in the Ships there, and by that means force them to an Action ; on the 29th at night, I sent up the *Seahorse* and two armed sloops with two Catts laden with provisions to join the rest above Quebec, and having taken off the Artillery from the Camp at Montmorenci, on the 3rd, in the forenoon, the troops all embarked from thence and landed at Point Levi ; The 4th at Night, I sent all the flat-bottomed Boats up, and this Night a part of the Troops march up the South Shore above the Town and are to be embarked in the Ships and Vessels there, and to-morrow night the rest will follow, and Admiral Holmes is again gone with them to assist in their future Operations, and to try if, with the Assistance of the Troops it is practicable to get at the Enemy's Ships. Yesterday I received a Letter from General Amherst (to whom I have had no opportunity of writing since I came into the River) dated Camp of Crown Point, August 7th, wherein he only desires I would send Transports and a Convoy to New York to carry to England six hundred and seven prisoners taken at the surrender of Niagara.

“As General Wolfe writes by this Opportunity he will give you an Account of his part of the Operations, and his thoughts of what further may be done for his Majesty's Service. The Enemy appear numerous and seem to be strongly posted, but let the Event be what it will, we shall remain here, as long as the Season of the

Life of Admiral Saunders

Year will permit, to prevent their detaching Troops from hence against General Amherst, and I shall leave cruizers at the Mouth of the River to cut off any Supplies that may be sent them, and with strict Orders to keep that Station as long as possible ; The Town of Quebec is not habitable, being almost entirely burnt and destroyed.

“Twenty of the Victuallers that came out of England with the *Echo*, are arrived here ; one unloaded at Louisburg having received Damage on her Passage out, and another has not been heard of here.

“I have no Intelligence of any of the Enemy’s Ships having come this Way, since my Arrival in the River, except one from Bourdeaux, loaded with flour and Brandy, which was taken by Capt. Drake of the *Lizard*.

“Before Admiral Durell got into the River, three Frigates and seventeen Sail with Provisions, Stores, etc., and a few Recruits got up, and are those we are so anxious if possible to destroy.

“I should sooner have wrote to you from hence, but while my Dispatches were preparing, General Wolfe was taken very ill ; he has been better since ; but is still greatly out of Order.

“I inclose you the present Disposition of the Fleet under my Command ; I shall very soon send home the great Ships, and have the honor to be, with the greatest Respect, Sir,

“Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

“CHAS. SAUNDERS.”

“The disposition of the ships under the

Disposition of Ships

command of Vice Admiral Saunders in North America, 5th September, 1759," accompanies Admiral Saunders' letter :—

<i>Sutherland</i>	. . .	} In the River, above Quebec.
<i>Squirrel</i>	. . .	
<i>Lowestoffe</i>	. . .	
<i>Seahorse</i>	. . .	
<i>Hunter Sloop</i>	. . .	
<i>Stirling Castle</i>	. . .	} Off Point Levi.
<i>Dublin</i>	. . .	
<i>Shrewsbury</i>	. . .	
<i>Alcide</i>	. . .	
<i>Vanguard</i>	. . .	
<i>Centurion</i>	. . .	
<i>Captain</i>	. . .	
<i>Medway</i>	. . .	
<i>Pembroke</i>	. . .	
<i>Trident</i>	. . .	
<i>Richmond</i>	. . .	
<i>Scorpion</i>	. . .	
<i>Racehorse</i>	. . .	
<i>Pelican</i>	. . .	
<i>Vesuvius</i>	. . .	
<i>Eurus</i>	. . .	At the Isle of Camarasq.
<i>Zephyr</i>	. . .	} In Channel to the Southward of Isle au Coudre.
<i>Baltimore</i>	. . .	
<i>Porcupine</i>	. . .	} Between Isle Orleans & the North Shore.
<i>Pr. Frederick</i>	. . .	
<i>Bedford</i>	. . .	} At Isle au Coudre.
<i>Hind</i>	. . .	
<i>Diana</i>	. . .	} At the Isle of Bic.
		} Gone to Boston to convoy the Mast Ships.

Life of Admiral Saunders

<i>Lizard</i> . . .	{	Cruising between the west end of Anticosti and the South Shore.
<i>Trent</i> . . .		{ To reconnoitre the No. shore of the River, proceed along the Coast of America to South Carolina, and from thence to convoy their Trade to England.
<i>Scarborough</i> . .	{	To Search the No. shore as far as Mingan then to Gaspee Bay & return.
<i>Echo</i> . . .		{ To search the No. shore, down the River and thro' the Streights of Bel-Isle, to the port of Labrador, & return.
<i>Princess Amelia</i> .	{	At Isle Madame.
<i>Northumberland</i> .		
<i>Terrible</i> . . .		
<i>Devonshire</i> . . .		
<i>Orford</i> . . .		
<i>Royal William</i> .	{	Admiral Durell is directed to station two of these ships, between Cape Torment and the East End of Orleans.
<i>Somerset</i> . . .		
<i>Pr. of Orange</i> . .		
<i>Neptune</i> . . .		
<i>Cormorant</i> . . .		
<i>Strombolo</i> . . .		

CHAS. SAUNDERS.

The letter, it may be held, settles little, and is no answer to the specific points raised by Mr. Beckles Willson. It at least provides evidence that the operation of getting above the town was not a simple matter, even supposing

Admiral and General

there were no other qualifying considerations. It is, of course, possible that Saunders was not well served, though I cannot imagine that he would have endorsed the results of ill-service. Captain Bell, Wolfe's aide-de-camp, says that the Admiral was going to supersede Rous and sent Captain Everett on board to know why he had not got under way. Rous's excuse was "there was not enough wind." Bell adds: "It positively blew a 4-knott gale," and Mr. Beckles Willson concedes that Saunders could not work miracles with the material at hand. That does not seem to me to settle the question. There is nothing in Saunders' letter of the 5th September to suggest that he thought Rous wanting. I make every allowance for Wolfe, and no man holds him in higher regard than I do. His letters lose none of their interest from his habit of putting things strongly. The difference in the methods adopted by the General and the Admiral is sharply illustrated by a reference in Montcalm's correspondence: "Lettre polie de Saunders. Lettre d'une forme polie et d'un style âcre de Wolfe."¹ The more intimate one's acquaintance with his style of criticism, the more complete one's knowledge of his impatience in all circumstances, the more sure we shall be that he expresses himself with

¹ Casgrain, *Lettres du Montcalm à Levis*.

Life of Admiral Saunders

an emphasis which in moments of deliberation he would modify. An example is afforded by his report of the attack on the 31st July. That attack was to be made partly by troops who marched under the falls from the Montmorency camp, and partly by troops who were to be landed from catts—flat-bottomed boats—with the *Centurion* to bombard the batteries and redoubt on the French left. The event was in any case doomed to failure by the precipitancy of the grenadiers, whose mad courage Wolfe criticised with a dignity and severity that were worthy of the General and the occasion, but he appears in the original draft of his report to Pitt to have reflected sharply on the part played by the catts and the *Centurion*. His letter was submitted to Saunders who objected to its terms, and Wolfe modified them. The incident is one of the few in which happily the standpoints of the two men can be established by their own words. Saunders wrote from the *Stirling Castle* to Wolfe :—¹

“Dear Sir,

“25th August, 1759.

“Major Barry was with me yesterday and read to me your letter to Mr. Pitt in which, though I do not remember the words, it seems to throw difficulties you met with in landing on the 2 Catts not being placed so as to annoy the two small batteries with their great guns and to

¹ *Chatham Papers*, 55, R.O.

Saunders' Protest

their not being within musket shot which you had been told they would be. If you remember when Mr. Cook said he believed they wou'd be within musketry I told you often there must be no dependence on that and that I was almost sure they wou'd not, however that is nothing, they did great execution against the two small Batteries and on your first landing you did not lose a man. What were lost was by waiting in the boats till low water which we were obliged to do after not landing at high as was at first designed. I cannot help mentioning your stating the case as you have done and even without naming the *Centurion* whose fire everybody mentions with surprize on account of scarcely a single shot being at the lower redoubt and Battery, that did not take place, and which was silenced for hours together, as to the Boats grounding it was no loss of time, you cou'd not land till near low water, when I sent you word you might in case you thought you had Day light enough to make your Junction, and effect your business. When I saw the Boats rowing in for the ledge, I sent Capt. Chads to stop them, but before he got up a few grounded, which were immediately got off by the seamen jumping overboard to do it. I hope you are better and will be soon able to finish your letters, as it is high time we should be heard from in England. Pray let me hear how you do, and believe me with great regard and esteem, Dear Sir,

“Your most faithful humble servant,
“CHAS. SAUNDERS.”

Saunders' hopes that Wolfe was better

Life of Admiral Saunders

referred, of course, to the illness from which Wolfe was only now recovering. To this letter Wolfe replied :—

“ BANKS OF THE ST. LAWRENCE,

“ 30th August, 1759.

“ To Vice-Admiral Saunders.

“ Dear Sir,—I did not see the letter you did me the honour to write till just now, nor indeed could I have answered it before, if Major Barré had shown it me. I shall leave out that part of my letter to Mr. Pitt which you object to, although the matter of fact to the best of my recollection, is strictly as I have stated it. I am sensible of my own errors in the course of the campaign ; see clearly wherein I have been deficient ; and think a little more or less blame to a man that must necessarily be ruined, of little or no consequence. If you had recollected the purport of my letter you would not have found ‘that it throws any difficulties I met with in landing on the two cats not being placed so to annoy the two small batteries with their great guns.’ On the contrary the cats did annoy the upper battery with their great guns, and performed that part of the service as well as could be expected ; and yet that battery was not abandoned by the enemy, but continued firing till the Grenadiers ran (like blockheads) up to it. However, its fire was of no consequence and not worth mentioning, nor the least impediment to landing. Mr. Cook said he believed the cats could be carried within 40 or 50 yards of the redoubts. I told him at the time, that I would readily compound for 150

Wolfe's Reply

or 200 yards, which would have been near enough, had the upper redoubt been as far from the enemy's entrenchments as it appeared from our camp to be, and had I judged it advisable to attack it with a view to lodge in it, which I did not upon seeing that it was too much commanded. You will please to consider the difference between landing at high water with four companies of Grenadiers to attack a redoubt under the protection of the artillery of a vessel, and landing part of an army to attack the enemy's entrenchments. For this business, a junction of our corps was necessary; and to join, the water must fall a certain degree. I gave up the first point (that of the redoubt) upon finding my mistake as to the distance from the entrenchment, and determined upon the latter (which I always had in view) upon observing the enemy's disorder, and remarking their situation much better than I ever could do before. The fire of the lower redoubt was so smart during the time that we were on board the *Russell* (I think it was) that, as neither her guns, nor the guns of the other cat could be brought to bear against it, I thought fit to order the Grenadiers out of her, by which I saved many lives. I was no less than three times struck with the splinters in that ship and had my stick knocked out of my hand with the cannon-ball while I was on board reconnoitring the position and movements of the enemy; and yet you say in your letter they (the cats) did great execution against the two small batteries, and on your first landing you did not lose a man.

Life of Admiral Saunders

“With regard to the *Centurion*, I am ready to do justice to Capt. Mantle ; but I am very sure, whatever his merit may be, the approbation would be more to the purpose coming from you than from me. In reality the position of the ship was in consequence of your orders, and I am very sure that, if you could have placed the whole fleet so as to have been useful to us, you would have done it. The *Centurion* had no enemy to encounter ; her position was assigned, and her guns were fired judiciously. The fire of that, and of the four-gun battery near the water-side, together with the want of ammunition, kept their lower battery silent for some time, but yet we received many shot from that battery at landing ; and Brigadier Townshend’s corps was fired upon particularly in returning over the ford, though with little damage.

“When I had resolved to attack the French army I sent Mr. Leslie to see how the water fell, that I might land at a proper time to join with Townshend, and when he made me his report, I made the signal to Col. Burton. Many of the boats ran upon the ledge ; and the delay occasioned by the accident was such, that I sent Captain Smith, my aide-de-camp, to stop Townshend, who was then crossing the ford ; and yet, Sir, you assert that there was no delay by this accident. None, indeed, that would have had any consequence if the strange behaviour of the Grenadiers had not lost us more time and brought on the night, and perhaps very luckily for the army, considering the disadvantageous nature of the attack. I remember you

That Unlucky Day

did me the honour to call to me from your boat to go in and see for a landing place ; and I remember some gentleman's calling out at the same time from the boat that it was a proper time to land ; and you may remember I went in, and made the experiment with a flat-bottomed boat, and one of the captains (I believe Capt. Chads), and when we had found what we sought for, I desired him to bring the boats forward. The rest makes up the remaining part of the story of that unlucky day ; the blame of which I take entirely upon my own shoulders, and expect to suffer for it. Accidents cannot be helped. As much of the plan as was defective falls upon me, and it is, I think, a matter of no great consequence whether the cats fired well or ill ; were well or ill placed ; of no great consequence whether an hour or two were or were not lost by the boats grounding ; and of as little consequence whether the *Centurion's* gunner directed his shot well or ill. In none of these circumstances the essential matter resides. The great fault of that day consists in putting too many men into boats, who might have been landed the day before, and might have crossed the ford with certainty, while a small body only remained afloat ; and the superfluous boats of the fleet employed in a feint that might divide the enemy's force. A man sees his error often too late to remedy. My ill state of health hinders me from executing my own plan ; it is of too desperate a nature to order others to execute. The Generals seem to think alike as to the operations, I,

Life of Admiral Saunders

therefore join with them, and perhaps we may find some opportunity to strike a blow.

“I am, dear Sir, etc.,

“JAM. WOLFE.”

During his illness the General begged his officers to consult for the public utility. They were agreed that the time had come now that ships were above the town, to get up as many men as possible in the hope of drawing the enemy to a decisive action. Wolfe was quite prepared—indeed, the idea was entirely in consonance with his own—and perhaps one cannot sum up the truth as to his relations with Saunders more fittingly than in the words he wrote to Pitt:—

“The Admiral and I have examined the town with the view of a general assault; but after consulting with the Chief Engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and after viewing it with the utmost attention we found that though the batteries of the Lower Town might be easily silenced by the men-of-war, yet the answers of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few passages leading from the lower to the upper town are carefully entrenched, and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships which must receive considerable damage from them and from the mortars. The Admiral would readily join in this or any other measure for the public service, but

Dangers in Diaries

I would not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature and promising so little success."

Such a passage surely meets volumes of criticism ; it supplies the most concise and deliberate reply to the reflections on Saunders which the diary contains. Diaries are often, like letters, written in anger : in many cases they were better destroyed because they were better unread. They are penned in haste, and may be repented at leisure. I say this even at the risk of having Pepys or Evelyn hurled at my head !

Early in August, as we see from Saunders' letter to Pitt of the 5th September, Admiral Holmes had gone up by the south shore to the *Sutherland*, and during the greater part of the month he was away endeavouring to get at and destroy the French ships and prevent the enemy from sending provisions by river down to Quebec. Wolfe fretted at the delay in his return. In the interval Saunders was sending as many boats past the town as wind and the French batteries would permit. One has only to read the Masters' logs to understand that King Boreas was not prepared to change his direction to suit the needs of Saunders and Wolfe any more than he was prepared to continue one course indefinitely to serve General Montcalm and Governor

Life of Admiral Saunders

Vaudrueil. More and more flat-bottomed boats got up, however, and occasionally a sloop or a bigger vessel, and on the 3rd September Wolfe transferred his troops from the camp at Montmorency to the south shore. Saunders had his hands pretty full endeavouring to run the gauntlet of Quebec with his ships, and providing at the same time for the movements of Wolfe's men about and across the Basin. His own movements during the ten days before the decisive event which was to place Quebec at the mercy of Wolfe's little army on the Plains of Abraham cannot be traced. He may have been active with Wolfe along the south shore and the river west of the town, or he may have directed operations from the *Stirling Castle* in the Basin, leaving Holmes up-river to carry out the General's immediate wishes.

Whilst the army was making its final preparations and Wolfe was taking his final decision as to the spot at which he would endeavour to effect a landing, Saunders and Holmes were both busy with vessel and gun, disguising the immediate purpose of the army. On the night of the 12th¹ and the glorious but tragic morning of the 13th, the two wings of the fleet, the army being in the centre, gave the enemy occasion to wonder what was about to happen. How

¹ See Appendix.

The Decisive Blow

any man can have examined the logs, as one writer claims to have done,¹ and still deny that Saunders and Holmes were active, passes comprehension. Holmes moved up the river as Wolfe's boats were about to drop down, and Saunders demonstrated off the Beauport shore, whilst the Levi batteries played on the town. "At midnight," says the log of the *Pembroke*, "all the row-boats in the fleet made a feint to land at Beauport in order to draw the enemy's attention that way to favour the landing of the troops above the town on the north shore."

That the landing would be attempted anywhere but near the town was suggested by the disposition of the ships, and that it *would* be attempted near the town, the French would have known had they understood James Wolfe. The firing from the west was heard on Saunders' flagship at half-past 4 in the morning; a few hours' suspense and Saunders learned that victory was won and Wolfe was dead. Wolfe's body was taken on board the *Lowestoft*, and the next day transferred to the *Stirling Castle*: at 3 p.m., runs the *Stirling Castle's* log, "came on board our longboat and bro't the corps of General Wolf who was killed in the late action." To Saunders the moment must have been one of intense emotion: for eleven weeks he and

¹ *Edinburgh Review*.

Life of Admiral Saunders

Wolfe had shared the anxieties of a task which men of larger experience regarded as beyond possibility of achievement, and the event had claimed his colleague as the price of victory. We have failed to understand Saunders' character if we cannot say with confidence that Wolfe's end was one which the Admiral would have welcomed for himself if need be. Wolfe's remains were sent to Point Levi on the 15th, were embalmed by order of the Admiral, for, as I have said elsewhere,¹ none but he could have taken the step, and sent to England in the *Royal William*. That was Saunders' tribute to Wolfe's memory and the Empire's loss.

In his matter-of-fact way the Admiral reported these stirring events and their sequel :—

“Admiral Saunders to Pitt.

[No date, but evidently of September 20th, 1759. Received 16th October.]

“Sir,

“I have the greatest Pleasure in acquainting you that the Town and Citadel of Quebec surrendered on the 18th instant, and I enclose you a Copy of the Articles of Capitulation. The Army took Possession of the Gates on the Land Side, the same evening, and sent safeguards into the Town to preserve order and to prevent anything being destroyed ; and Capt. Palliser, with a Body of Seamen, landed in the lower

¹ *Life of Wolfe.*

The Event and After

town, and did the same: The next day our Army marched in, and near a thousand French Officers, Soldiers and Seamen were embarked on board some English Catts, who shall soon proceed for France, agreeable to the Capitulation.

“I had the honor to write to you the 5th instant by the *Rodney Cutter*, a Duplicate of which I enclose herewith; The Troops mentioned in that Letter, embarked on board the Ships and Vessels above the Town in the Night of the Sixth instant, and at 4 in the morning of the 13th began to land on the North Shore, about a mile and a half above the Town; General Montcalm with his whole Army left their Camps at Beauport and marched to meet him; a little before Ten both Armies were formed, and the Enemy began the Attack; Our Troops received their Fire and reserved their own; advancing till they were so near as to run in upon them and push them with their Bayonets, by which, in very little time, the French gave way, and fled to the Town in the utmost Disorder and with great Loss, for our Troops pursued them quite to their Walls, and killed many of them upon the Glacis, and in the Ditch, and if the Town had been further off, the whole French Army must have been destroyed, about 250 French Prisoners were taken that day, among whom are Ten Captains and Six Subaltern Officers, all of whom will go in the great Ships to England.

“I am sorry to acquaint you that General Wolfe was killed in the Action, and General Monckton shot thro’ the Body, but he is now supposed to be out of Danger, General Montcalm, and the

Life of Admiral Saunders

3 next French Officers in Command were killed, but I must refer you to General Townshend (who writes by this Opportunity for the Particulars of this Action ; the State of the Garrison and the Measures he is taking for keeping Possession of it ; I am now beginning to send on Shore the Stores they will want, and provisions for five thousand men, of which I can furnish them with a sufficient Quantity.

“The night of their landing, Admiral Holmes, with the Ships and Troops, was about three Leagues above the intended landing place. General Wolfe, with about half his Troops, set off in Boats and dropped down with the Tide, and were, by that Means, less liable to be discovered, by the French Centinels posted all along the Coast ; The Ships followed them about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an Hour afterwards, and got to the Landing Place just in the Time that had been concerted to cover their Landing, and considering the darkness of the Night, and the Rapidity of the Current, this was a very critical Operation, and very properly and successfully conducted. When General Wolfe and the Troops with him had landed, the Difficulty of gaining the Top of the Hill, is scarcely credible ; it was very steep in its ascent and high, and had no path where two could go abreast, but they were obliged to pull themselves up, by the Stumps and boughs of Trees that covered the Declivity.

“Immediately after our Victory over their Troops, I sent up all the Boats in the Fleet with Artillery and Ammunition, and on the 17th, went up with the Men of War, in a Disposition

Preparing for Home

to attack the lower Town, as soon as General Townshend should be ready to attack the Upper ; but in the Evening they sent out to the Camp and offered Terms of Capitulation.

“I have the farther Pleasure of acquainting you that during this tedious Campaign, there has continued a perfect good understanding between the Army and Navy : I have received great Assistance from Admirals Durell and Holmes, and from all the Captains ; indeed every body has exerted themselves in the Execution of their Duty ; Even the Transports have willingly assisted me with Boats and people, on the landing the Troops, and many other Services.

“This will be delivered to you by Captain James Douglas, whom I send home in his Majesty’s Ship *Lowestoffe*, and Admiral Durell will sail with the great Ships in two or three Days ; I shall myself follow as soon as possible, leaving at Halifax Lord Colvill in the *Northumberland*, with four more Ships of the Line, and two or three Frigates, with Orders to come up here as early in the Spring as possible. I propose to appoint a Captain to the *Northumberland* under Lord Colvill, and to order his Lordship to hoist a Broad Pennant.

“I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect, Sir,

“Your most obedient and humble Servant,

“CHAS. SAUNDERS.”

On the 5th October Saunders reported that

Life of Admiral Saunders

he had sent Admiral Holmes in the *Dublin* (with His Majesty's ships *Prince Frederick* and *Seahorse*) to see a number of transports out of the river. He was then to proceed to Spit-head. Convoys accompanied him with troops for Louisbourg where they were to take in prisoners and carry them to England. "I purpose to follow him as soon as possible, with the Remainder of the Squadron and Transports here," after furnishing the garrison of Quebec with provisions, ammunition, etc. "I am sorry it has not been possible to get at the French Frigates up the River." The *Scorpion* sloop, *Racehorse* bomb, and two armed vessels were to be left to winter in the St. Lawrence.

Saunders having shifted his flag to the
Somerset

"Sailed from Quebec on the 18th with His Majesty's Ships named in the Margin, and 22 Transports, in which, by General Monckton's desire, I have brought from thence, six French Officers, 34 Private Soldiers, 33 Seamen, and 21 Deserters. I have ordered Lord Colvill (whom I have left to command in America, and to winter at Halifax) to hoist a broad pennant, and have appointed him a Captain, and left under his Command, five Ships of the Line,

A Historic Note

three Frigates and three sloops. The *Hunter* sloop was sent to New York, by General Monckton's desire, soon after the surrender of Quebec in hopes of returning this Fall, with Mony for the Service of that Garrison, but considering the little probability there is, of succeeding therein, and as there was no Mony left for the Service of the Garrison, I collected from the Gentlemen of the Navy and left with General Monckton, near four thousand pounds, for which I have taken his Bills, on the paymaster of the Army, making myself Accountable to the Gentlemen from whom I collected it."

Apparently the Admiral with two ships in addition to the *Somerset* pushed on ahead for home. He had barely entered the English Channel, when he got news that Hawke was out after Conflans and was not, perhaps, any too strongly equipped for the work in hand. Saunders must have been tired, his ships were foul, and his officers and men were certainly eager to get home. But he did not hesitate a second. He turned south and despatched this little note to Pitt :—

"Sir,

"The Lizard now bearing N.W.b.N. distance 17 Leagues (having with me the *Devonshire* and *Vanguard*) I am joined by Capt. Phillips of the *Juno*, who informs me that the French fleet is at sea and Sir Edward Hawke after them. I have therefore only time to acquaint

Life of Admiral Saunders

you that I am making the best of my way in quest of Sir Edward Hawke, which I hope His Majesty will approve of. I have the honour to be with the greatest Respect, Sir,

“Your most obedient humble servant,
“CHAS. SAUNDERS.”

“SOMERSET,

“19th November, 1759.

“Rt. Hon. Wm. Pitt, Esq.”

Saunders, baffled by contrary winds, was unable to get near Hawke till after Conflans had been crushed at Quiberon. When, on the 22nd, he learnt of Hawke's success—the remarkable nature of which he would not have gathered at the moment—he put about and made for Plymouth according to one statement, for Cork, whence he travelled to London by way of Dublin, according to another. If Quebec had already made him one of the heroes of that *annus mirabilis*, his going after Hawke on the offchance that he might be of service put a final touch to the popular esteem. Even Lord Chancellor Hardwicke was moved. “The part,” he wrote, “which Admiral Saunders has taken voluntarily is, I think, the greatest I ever heard of.” Walpole said: “He arrived too late; but a moment so embraced could not be accounted lost.”¹

¹ *Memoirs of George II.*

Sir



The Lizard now bearing W. by N.
distance 17 Leagues (having with me the
Devonshire, & Vanguard) I am joined by
Capt. Phillips of the Juno, who informs
me that the French Fleet is at sea, & Sir
Edward Hawke, after them; I have therefore
only time to acquaint you that I am
making the best of my way in quest of
Sir Edward Hawke, which I hope his
Majesty will approve of.

I have the Honor to be, with the
greatest Respect,

Sir

Somerset, at
19 Novemb. 1759

Your most Obedient
Humble Servant

Chas. Saunders

Rt. Hon. W. Pitt Esq.

Saunders' Merits

Applause, it is said, met him on every side, and would be none the less gratifying because he had to divide the honours with Hawke and Boscawen. The King honoured him, Parliament voted him the thanks of the nation, and he was frequently startled, when he was recognised, by the resounding plaudits of the people. When Pitt reviewed the work of generals and admirals who had realised his great expectations in nearly every direction, he paid noble tribute to Wolfe, and in mentioning survivors generally, he singled out Saunders "whose merits," he said, "had equalled those of the men who have beaten Armadas—May I anticipate," cried he, "those who *will* beat Armadas!"¹

The whole nation was impressed by the excellent relations which subsisted between the two services at Quebec. General Townshend, who succeeded to the command of Wolfe's army, wrote to Pitt to acknowledge "how much we are indebted for our success to the constant assistance and support" of the naval service, "and the perfect harmony and correspondence which have prevailed throughout our operations"—a harmony, he might have added, which he himself did something to qualify in the relations of the army officers themselves.

¹ *Memoirs of George II.*

Life of Admiral Saunders

Hardwicke wrote to Newcastle: "I question whether any other two officers except Saunders and Wolfe would have carried this arduous affair through." ¹

And as a matter of fact, is there need to attempt to apportion the degrees of credit due respectively to the twin chiefs of the great enterprise successfully accomplished? [On the heights of Quebec stands the monument to Wolfe and Montcalm; in the history of the British Empire there should be an equally simple and equally eloquent monument bearing just the words, "Wolfe," "Saunders."] As Major Wood well puts it: ² "The Quebec campaign was, of course, an amphibious attack by a large fleet and a small but efficient army. The fleet and convoy were manned by twice as many seamen as Wolfe had soldiers. The fleet scouted for the army, moved it, fed it, supported it in every way and at all times, and finally put it in position to win the decisive victory of the Plains of Abraham. The Quebec Medal, with its Britannia and Trident, and its commemoration of 'Saunders' and 'Wolfe' in the legend, clearly shows that the authorities of the day took a juster view of the Navy's work than nearly all historians have. The

¹ Yorke, *Life of Hardwicke*, Vol. iii.

² *Logs of the Conquest of Canada*.

Twin Chiefs

Navy was a single force making the whole war one. For this reason every naval defeat or victory was felt round the world; and for this secondary reason, the Navy could prepare and confirm the conquest of Canada in European waters while securing it for the Army on the spot." If, as Mr. Beckles Willson says,¹ the idea that he should share the laurels of Quebec would have surprised none more than Saunders himself—"who always attributed the sole merit to Wolfe and Wolfe alone"—that in my opinion only goes to prove the essential and simple greatness of Wolfe's naval colleague. Saunders' work in any case stands alone, and his title has been finely stated by the master-pen:—²

"To carry such a fleet as his up such a river, to maintain it there for three months in spite of gales and batteries and two attacks of fire-ships, to preserve it in perfect harmony with the sister service, to judge and take every risk soberly and yet to the extremity of daring and finally to bring it forth again at the last moment with the loss of but one ship was a stroke of conduct without parallel. It is enough to have placed him in the front rank of sea commanders. But by the frailty of human judgment such a place can only be won by a successful action—

¹ *Life and Letters of Wolfe.*

² Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War.*

Life of Admiral Saunders

a test which often has not called forth a tithe of the admiralship which Saunders' more sober triumph entailed. Though he lacked the genius of Wolfe his hand throughout was the surer of the two, and dazzling as was the final stroke by which Wolfe snatched victory from failure, the slender flame of Saunders' exploit is working to burn beside it without loss of radiance for all time."

Mediterranean Manœuvres and
Diplomacy

CHAPTER VII

Mediterranean Manœuvres and Diplomacy

SAUNDERS Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean—
Searching Out the Enemy—A Diplomatic Service—
Bourbon Intrigue—Important Captures—Holding up
Big Ships.

THE victories of 1759—"we have," said Horace Walpole, "taken more places and ships in a week than would have set up such pedant nations as Greece and Rome to all futurity"—included Admiral Boscawen's over De la Clue in August at Lagos: as determined if not as desperate an event as Hawke's in November at Quiberon. Boscawen had been in command of the Mediterranean during the year, and he and Brodrick had better fortune in dealing with the French efforts to get through the Straits than came to Osborne and Saunders.

Projects for the invasion of England now, as fifteen or sixteen years earlier, lay buried around the shores of France, thanks to Hawke and Boscawen and others. Boscawen returned to England, and during the winter Saunders was appointed his successor in the Mediterranean. One can imagine these gallant sailors foregathering, perhaps on occasion with Pitt and Anson, to review Lagos, Quiberon, and

Life of Admiral Saunders

Quebec, and their bearing on the world-drama from India to America, with its rapid developments and its *dénouement* not yet in sight.

It was decided that Saunders again should take up the *rôle* of watch-dog in the Straits of Gibraltar ; and at the beginning of May he was completing his preparations for the command of that sea "on whose shores," as Dr. Johnson said, had existed "the four great Empires of the world—the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman." The Mediterranean, the cradle and burial-place of Empires, was to contribute its full share to the romance of an Empire greater than any in extent, more remarkable than any in its freedom. The foundations of that Empire had been laid : Pitt's ambition was to raise a superstructure which no alien hand could bring down, and in the carrying out of the design, Saunders was proving himself one of the most efficient of instruments.

On the 4th May, 1760, Saunders wrote : " Their Lordships having done me the honour to appoint me to command a squadron of His Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, I am to beg the favour of you to move their Lordships to direct that such a sum of money may be imprested to me as their Lordships think proper for the contingent service of the said squadron."

At Sea Again

This note is docketed : "Imprest £1,000 : See what Admiral Boscawen had : the same to be done."

By the 9th Saunders had only succeeded in getting part of his squadron ready for sea, but he was prepared to sail with the part if their Lordships desired him to be off at once, as evidently they did. He left a few days later with some six ships, directing the remainder of the thirteen of the line and twelve cruisers to follow. A touch in one of his letters shows what his sailors thought of him : "There are," he said, "some seamen left on board the *St. George*, who have sailed with me many years, and are very desirous of going with me again if their Lordships think proper to order them to be discharged into the *Neptune*." Among his papers is the code of private signals he arranged for the squadron on the way out :—

"PRIVATE SIGNALS

"BY DAY

"In case of losing company and meeting again the ship to windward shall hoist an English ensign at her foretop gallant masthead, and the ship to Leeward shall answer by hoisting a Dutch Ensign at her main top gallant masthead. Then the ship to windward shall hoist a French Jack at her Mizen peek and the ship to Leeward shall answer by hoisting a Dutch Jack at the same place.

Life of Admiral Saunders

“ BY NIGHT

“The ship to windward shall hoist three lights in a triangle thus  at the Mizzen peek and the ship to Leeward shall answer by hoisting two lights one above another in the main shrouds. Then the ship to windward shall burn two false fires and the ship to Leeward shall answer by burning one.

“If within hail by night the ship that hails first shall ask *What ship's that?* The other shall answer *King George*. The ship that hailed first shall reply *of Great Britain*. The other shall answer *God preserve*.

“*Dated, etc., 15th May, 1760.*

“CHAS. SAUNDERS.”

Saunders reached Gibraltar in the *Neptune* on the 9th June; the smashing blows of the previous year had resolved French naval activity into its elements, but those elements were still formidable, and concentration might still enable them to turn the tables here and there, though their chances of retrieving the fortunes of France were slender unless England committed some egregious blunder. The first information Saunders received was that “ten sail of men-of-war are equipping at Toulon with the utmost despatch,” but as the information was “far from distinct or satisfactory,” he determined to proceed with five or six sail of the line to

Preparations at Toulon

investigate for himself. He left for the east with ten sail on the 24th June, and his search for the enemy during the next fortnight did not help him much. He heard on the 3rd July that ships and frigates had left Toulon on the 21st June, with no troops or extra stores on board, and were reported to have gone to Malta.

In Toulon there were three ships, said to be Genoese, built for sixty-four guns, but their appearance did not suggest that they were getting ready for sea. Saunders divided his force: he sent four ships under the command of Captain Palliser to continue the eastward search and himself hastened back to "the Straights," where, on the 12th July, he wrote that he was confident from what he gleaned that he was to the westward of the enemy. He would continue to cruise in the Straits whilst the wind was easterly "in hopes to intercept them should they come this way." He sent the *Vestal* to look into all ports and bays on the Spanish side where the French might anchor, and the *Valour* to search the coast of Barbary as far as Algiers, but no sign of the enemy could be discovered. He thought the French might be equipping the remainder of the ships in Toulon either to endeavour to pass the Straits or to effect a junction with those

Life of Admiral Saunders

in Malta. In case any ships should slip past, he ordered Palliser to join him at Gibraltar with all possible despatch. Before the end of the month he had grown impatient at the paucity of his news, and on the 28th he again proceeded up the Mediterranean,

“By which means I shall be able to procure more early and more frequent accounts of the ships Capt. Palliser is in quest of (which by various information are certainly gone to the Eastward) and likewise by keeping off Toulon I hope to annoy the enemy more effectually than by remaining at Gibraltar as I shall procure more certain Intelligence of their motions in that port and prevent their sending out more men-of-war either to join those to the Eastward or to get out of the Mediterranean.”

Saunders' energetic search was maintained throughout the summer without material incident, but his diligence was not wasted. It was such “that from the time he made his appearance in these seas the enemy's trade was reduced to a state of stagnation.”¹ Spain's uncertain attitude made the friendship of Portugal for England especially important, and Saunders had an eye for diplomacy as well as strategy. In the previous year Boscawen had violated the neutrality of the Portuguese

¹ *Beatson* quoted by Corbett.

Strategy and Diplomacy

coast in making what Walpole called a "bon-fire" of part of De la Clue's fleet ; though when Pitt heard of it he said significantly : " It is true, but the ships are burned." He was none the less concerned lest Portugal might take serious umbrage in order to put herself right with France and Spain. Pitt, therefore, despatched Lord Kinnoul on a special mission of apology to the Portuguese Court, and Saunders, " with his sagacious feeling for a general situation,"¹ played an excellent stroke in support. " Hearing," says Mr. Corbett, " that a number of influential Portuguese had been expelled from the Papal dominions, he sent a frigate to Leghorn to carry them to Lisbon. The step had an excellent effect, and no doubt contributed substantially to Kinnoul's success."

Saunders' official chiefs at home were quite satisfied with his efforts. They commended his endeavours to intercept the enemy as " well conceived." He certainly drove the French helter-skelter to whatever refuge presented itself. In September Palliser chased several of their ships, but they were able to take shelter before he could come up with them. He reported to the Admiral that he had heard the object of the French in going to the Levant was to make a parade there for the honour of their marine,

¹ Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, Vol. ii.

Life of Admiral Saunders

but as they had been driven to seek protection in Ottoman ports they must be "placed in a still more contemptible light there."

The year 1760, superficially regarded, lends some point to the suggestion that the war was being continued by Pitt unnecessarily, as Newcastle thought, and that France would have eagerly seized any occasion for negotiating a peace. That may or may not be true. Pitt was convinced there was no hope of an enduring peace between the two countries until France had been driven from every sea and crushed beyond the chance of speedy recovery. The country was with him, and continued cheerfully to find whatever men and money he wanted either to assist Frederick of Prussia or to strengthen the naval and military forces of England at home, on the seas, in India or in America.

The event of 1760 which had most bearing on the future was the death of George II. Little as he loved Pitt George II had given him willing support when once he realised what the policy of the great Commoner meant to England and to Hanover. With the accession of George III the atmosphere of the Palace changed. Pitt had long foreseen that before hostilities could be brought to a satisfactory conclusion trouble must come with Spain. He was fully

Pitt's Foresight

informed of the Bourbon intrigues afoot, and the new year was to provide tangible proof of Franco-Spanish unity in the shape of the Third Family Compact. Pitt would have forced the pace, but George III and his friend Bute, whom the King insisted on introducing into the Cabinet, were convinced that Pitt's views of Spanish intentions were mere prejudice. So far as he was in touch with international politics, Saunders seems to have sided with the King and Bute, though 1761 was not far advanced before signs accumulated which showed Pitt to be right. In October, 1761, Pitt resigned, and Bute, then supreme, aimed at putting a speedy end to the war, only to discover within a month or two that the conflict with Spain was inevitable.

The Admiral received news at the end of December, 1760, that there was movement in Toulon: the *St. Anne* (one of the Genoese sixty-four guns) was said to be fitting out "on the merchants' account and ready to sail for Martinico." Saunders immediately took steps to prevent her from getting away, but there was reason to fear without effect. He sent out seven ships, five to cruise between Carbaretta Point and Ceuta and two off Cape Spartel. He wrote, on the 12th January, 1761, from the *Neptune*, Gibraltar Bay:—

Life of Admiral Saunders

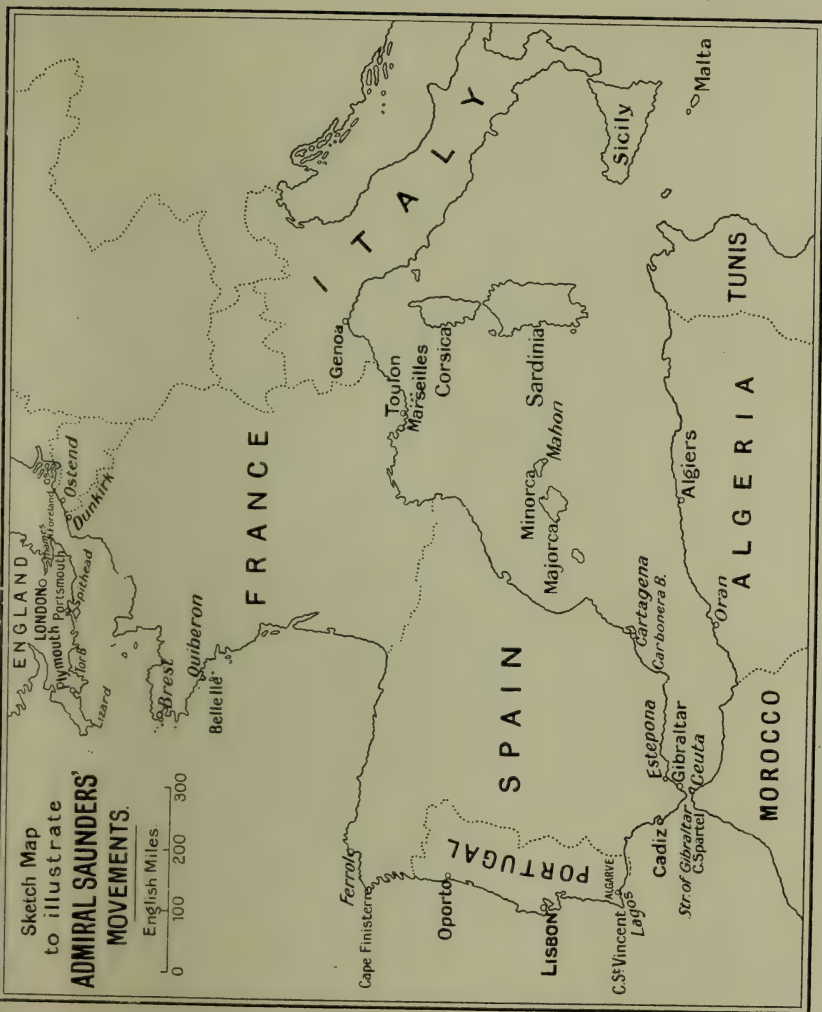
“On the 5th inst., the *Gramont* arrived here from Villa Franca and informed me that on his passage down he had looked into Toulon and seen a large ship (which he took for the *St. Anne*) in the Outer Road ; I sent him out again immediately to join Captain Palliser.

“On the 7th Captain Gower in the *Quebec* returned and joined Captain Palliser and sent me an account that on the 5th he had fallen in with a French 64-gun ship about 22 Leagues to the Eastward of Cape de Gatte and that he supposed her to be still to the Eastward of him ; I thereupon sent immediately the *Preston* and *Dunkirk* to proceed up the Barbary shore ; and the *Hercules* to take with him the *Quebec* and go up the Spanish shore in quest of her ; but on the 9th the *Poleacre* brought me word from Captain Fergusson that he had on the 7th in the morning chased a large ship that would show no colors but got away from him among the shoals of St. Pedro ; I have heard nothing from him since, but am very apprehensive that this ship was the *St. Anne* who by the Favor of a dark night and a fresh Levant, had the good fortune to escape, although there were the eight ships in the Gut. It is said she is when unloaded to proceed to Brest.

“By Captain Trale of the *Gramont* I receive further advice that the French are actually at work on and fitting out at Toulon the *Protecteur*, *Altier*, *Oriflamme* and *St. Vincent*, and that they will put all their other ships in repair and keep them in Readiness ; that they have now at Toulon another Genoese 64-gun ship,

Sketch Map
to illustrate
**ADMIRAL SAUNDERS'
MOVEMENTS.**

English Miles
0 100 200 300



“*The Favor of a Dark Night*”

called the *Saint Françoise de Paule* and have contracted for two more. It is also reported that the *Ori flamme* is to carry but 32 guns and the *St. Vincent* 36 and both to be laden on the merchants' accounts for Martinico, and that the last mentioned Genoese ship is to be laden in like manner. I do not hear whether they are to sail together or not but I suppose they will think a single ship at a time the most probable way to escape ; I hope, however, we shall have better success in intercepting them and desire you will inform their Lordships that my utmost endeavours for that purpose shall not be wanting.

“I shall keep all the ships here in constant readiness to proceed in the spring off Toulon or upon any other service that may be necessary according to the intelligence I may receive of the enemy's motions at Toulon.”

A month later Saunders reports :—

“By the Castel ship from Marseilles and letters from Villa Franca, I am informed that at Toulon the French are loading the *Ori flamme*, *St. Vincent* and the last ship they had from Genoa on account of the merchants, and that a ship, a brig and a snow are loading at Marseilles all designed for the West Indies ; I have therefore divided the ships within my reach to cruize from Cape Palos, and the opposite shore in Barbary westward on different stations to the Capes Trafalgar and Spartel and further Westward. . . .

“As the French ships endeavour to pass the

Life of Admiral Saunders

Streights singly in the Night time I hope by spreading our ships in this manner to prevent their getting away as I am sorry to acquaint their Lordships the *St. Anne* did, that being the ship which the *Firm* chased within the shoal of St. Pedro, but you will please to acquaint their Lordships that I shall take care always to have a sufficient strength to prevent any number of ships of Force from passing the Streights together should they attempt it."

In these ceaseless excursions in quest of the French, Captain Palliser and others protested to the Admiral that whilst English ships respected neutrality—a fairly cool claim in view of Boscawen's exploit off Lagos—French ships violated it with impunity so far as Spain was concerned.

Saunders wrote home on the 5th March in terms which would not assist to disabuse Pitt's mind of the sinister purpose of the Bourbons :—

"I have received numberless complaints of the partial and unjust behaviour of several of the Spanish Governors from Tariffa all along the coast of Spain, particularly of the protection given to French privateers and their immediate admission to pratique (though guilty of the most notorious breaches of neutrality), whilst his Majesty's ships are kept in quarantine and scarce permitted to purchase the most trifling refreshments. I have represented many of these complaints to his Excellency the Earl of Bristol

The Spaniards and Neutrality

at Madrid, but whatever promises of Redress his Lordship may have obtained thereupon, the Spanish Governors hereabouts continue to act with the same partiality and injustice as before, and as I apprehend it may not be the intention of the Court of Spain that their Governors should act in this manner, I think it probable that a representation thereof at home may be the means of putting a stop to such proceedings which is the reason I trouble their Lordships therewith. During my command here the strictest neutrality has been observed by the fleet, not a complaint having been made to me on that head. I likewise enclose for their Lordships' information a copy of a letter I received from Mr. Goldsworthy. The Spaniards are fitting out all their men-of-war, but I cannot apprehend it is with any such design as is mentioned in that letter.'"

What grounds Saunders ever had for scepticism as to Spanish intentions we cannot tell: reports of Spanish movements by land and sea, of ships being sent secretly to the West Indies, and of warlike stores being deposited where they would be serviceable, if well found should have been conclusive. April brought news of the capture of the *Oriflamme* by the *Isis*, after a running fight of some hours, in which Captain Wheeler of the *Isis* was one of four killed on the English side, but Lieutenant Cunningham took command, and fought with such spirit

Life of Admiral Saunders

that Saunders recommended him to their Lordships' favour and appointed him to the command of the *Ori Flamme* till their pleasure was known.

Saunders no doubt was informed of the course of events elsewhere, and about this time he would have learned, as did Pitt at home, that his friend Keppel had sustained a reverse in his first attempt to take Belle Isle—a set-back which was to be repaired later by Hodgson's attack, on lines curiously, as Mr. Corbett suggests, resembling those of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham. The French continued busy with preparations for the invasion of England, but with all their principal ports from Dunkirk to Toulon blockaded or carefully watched by men like Saunders and Keppel they might as well have spent their efforts on arrangements to invade the moon.

On the 27th April, the wind being easterly, Saunders left Gibraltar Bay to cruise off Ceuta, and when it changed to the westward he proposed to proceed off Toulon with nine ships :—

“As I have received information that the *St. Vincent* (one of the Genoese ships bored for 64-guns) was loading at Toulon on account of the merchants and was very soon to sail for the West Indies, with other smaller ships and vessels

Protecting Trade

both from that port and Marseilles, I have left his Majesty's ships *Trim*, *Anson* and *Dunkirk* to cruize for them on different stations in and about the Gut for some time lest any of them, and particularly the *St. Vincent* should happen to pass me, in my passage up, after which those ships are to join me off Toulon, but as the *Dunkirk* is very foul, I have ordered her first to be careened.

"I have left the Frigates named in the margin to be stationed also in and about the Streights of

<i>Sheerness</i>	Gibraltar as may be most conducive to his Majesty's service
<i>Thetis</i>	for intercepting the enemy's ships
<i>Cygnets</i>	and protecting the trade of his
<i>Favorite</i>	Majesty's subjects.

<i>Saltash</i>	The rest of the Frigates under
<i>Terror</i>	my command are stationed as
<i>Poleacre</i>	follows, viz., the

Squirrel—between Leghorn and Naples.

Vestal—off Malta.

Pallas—off the South end of Sardinia.

Quebec—Eastward of Malta, and thereabouts according to the intelligence which Captain Gower might obtain.

<i>Active</i> —to the Southward	} of Cape Mola.
<i>Gibraltar</i> —to the Eastward	

"I expect to join the *Active* and *Gibraltar* going up, as the latter will have looked into Toulon.

"I received letters the 21st inst. by express from the Hon. Edward Hay, Envoy Extraordinary and Sir Harry Frankland, Consul-General at Lisbon, informing me that a French Line of Battle ship and two or three others

Life of Admiral Saunders

(either Frigates or Privateers) infested the coast of Portugal and desiring I would send them a reinforcement of ships for that coast, but considering I must either leave the Gut open for the *St. Vincent* and others bound out of the Mediterranean, or reduce the number of ships already few enough to carry with me to the Eastward, and further believing that the French would scarce continue a Line of Battle ship for any time on that station, I apprehend it might be only some outward bound ship, that had accidentally fallen in with and chased the *Prince Frederick* packet ; I therefore declined sending any of my squadron thither as my doing it would have entirely discounted the whole plan I had laid down for this summer's operation, and I hope their Lordships will approve thereof.

“‘The ships that will be with me to the Eastward are victualled to near six months' flesh, five months' bread and four months' wine. They have all of them very near their full complements of men and leave behind amongst them about one hundred sick at the Hospital.’”

Two days after this letter was despatched, the *Jersey* and the *Somerset* chased a large ship which escaped under the shelter of a small Spanish fort in Carbonera Bay. She was the *Notre Dame de la Rosarie*, a sixty-four gun ship with forty-six mounted, bound from Toulon to the West Indies. “The next morning we fell in with another large ship near Oran into which port she unluckily escaped and

The Honour of the Flag

proves to be the *St. Vincent* mentioned in my former letter."

To prevent such ships getting into the Atlantic, Admiral Saunders went westward. He had no intelligence of any ships of force fitting out at Toulon, and his "chief end in appearing off that port was the Honor of parading with the British flag and making it respectable in that part of the Mediterranean." In the middle of May he received news that a French sixty-four and two thirty-fours had anchored off Cadiz. He despatched the *Hercules* and *Favourite* sloop, and learned later that the *Achilles* (64), and *Bouffon* (34), were at single anchor ready to sail. He hoped to block them up as he heard that a convoy was on its way to the coast of Portugal and Gibraltar. For two months the *Achilles* and the *Bouffon* were watched. On the 21st July Saunders sent this interesting item home :—

"It is with great pleasure that I desire you will acquaint their Lordships that Captain Proby in the *Thunderer* who was cruising off Cadiz with the *Modeste*, *Thetis* and *Favourite* sloop, in order to intercept the *Achilles* and *Bouffon*, has fallen in with and taken those ships and brought them into this bay.

"On looking into Cadiz on Thursday morning, the 14th inst., he missed the French ships and at 2 in the afternoon of the 16th he discovered

Life of Admiral Saunders

them ; Cadiz then bearing E.N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. dist. 9 Leagues, about 1 in the morning of the 17th, the *Thunderer* came up with and began to engage the *Achilles*, who struck after an action of about half an hour, Cadiz then bearing E. 2° S. dist 19 Leagues.

“The *Thetis* came up with the *Bouffon* about 7 the same morning, they engaged also about half an hour, when the *Modeste* coming up and firing some guns, the *Bouffon* struck. The *Thunderer* is pretty much damaged in her masts, yards, sails and rigging and had 17 killed in action and 113 wounded, 17 of which are since dead. The *Thetis* has also suffered in her masts, Rigging, etc., but had not one man killed or wounded.”

It was a trying time for the Admiral, and he had all his work cut out to discharge the various duties which necessarily devolved on him, but his devotion was thoroughly understood at home as was shown when, during this year, he was made K.B. by proxy : a tribute which he would much have appreciated. His difficulties were added to by the necessity of protecting trade while keeping an eye on the movements of scattered bodies of the enemy. Neutrals like the Danes gave him trouble : as he caustically put it they “entered into the gainfull trade of covering the enemy’s goods” to the advantage of the French, who could not protect their commerce, and the detriment of the

A Source of Worry

British, who were quite able to look after themselves.

As for the *Notre Dame de la Rosarie* and the *St. Vincent*, they were a source of worry throughout the summer. The *Notre Dame* left Carbonera Bay near the end of June, was chased by the *Jersey* who lost her during a violent squall, and came to an anchor off Estepona, where she was watched by the *Dunkirk* and *Gibraltar*. The *St. Vincent* clung to Oran. Whilst they were at large Saunders could not leave the Straits though he wanted to be off Toulon. When fresh ships came to him from home in July or August he was able to carry out this idea. He returned to Gibraltar on the 10th October. By that time the *St. Vincent* had taken refuge in Carthagená, but the *Notre Dame* was still at Estepona.

Bearer to Await Reply

CHAPTER VIII

Bearer to Await Reply

ANSON'S Secret Express—Saunders on Marseilles and Cadiz—
Hay's Mysterious Request—Spain joins in the War—
Anson's Death—Bute's Peace.

PITT threw up office in disgust when it became clear that the King and Bute were prepared to play the game of Spain by refusing to strike before her plans had matured. Sir Charles Saunders himself had by that time seen that a war with Spain was probable. Information from Lisbon should alone have sufficed to establish Bourbon intrigues. But he was to get a hint of a more definite nature which reached him almost before he had had an opportunity of speculating as to the upshot of political developments at home. Pitt had gone, but Anson remained. That was at least some guarantee that everything was not to be sacrificed.

The following letter marked "Secret" was despatched to Saunders from Spithead in the *Montreal* frigate less than three weeks after Pitt's resignation :—

"ADMIRALTY, 22nd Oct., 1761.

"Dear Sir,

"The present administration being determined to push on the war with all the vigour possible it becomes necessary to find what are the proper objects to employ the land and sea forces of this

Life of Admiral Saunders

Kingdom upon. Marseilles among others having been thought of I must desire you will with the utmost secrecy inform yourself of the strength of that place, whether it is attackable and what will be the first requisite for the attack. The expedition may be kept secret by giving it out that it is intended to retake Port Mahon. If you can suggest any other place within the Mediterranean that may be an object, you will mention it in your answer to this letter.

“It is thought by some people here that Spain has an inclination to declare war against us. I own I am not of that opinion, not seeing what advantage can accrue to her from that measure ; nor do I think her weight would be great though it was thrown into the scale of France.

“I have his Majesty’s commands to inform you that he thinks it for his service that you should keep the principal part of your squadron at or near Gibraltar, where if a Spanish war should happen you may be reinforced.

“Lord Howe proposed a scheme to Mr. Pitt in case of a rupture with Spain, to attack the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Cadiz and in case they should fly to the Pentulles, to shelter themselves, to follow them and destroy them there. This was certainly a gallant proposal. How fit and proper it may be to attempt it, if a war should happen, you must inform me not having been myself ever at Cadiz.

“If you will procure the best plan you can of the Port of Cadiz and make your remarks upon it yourself, it will be the best way of conveying your idea to me.

Saunders' Reply

"I must desire you will give me a particular account of the Spanish fleet, what part of it is at Cadiz and equipped for service as well as at the other different ports. I should likewise be glad to know what may be the number of the Spanish seamen and the state of their stores.

"You see how necessary I think it that what I have said to you should be kept secret that I write it all in my own hand. It is needless to tell you that nobody living can have more friendship and esteem for you than

"Your very humble servant,

"ANSON.

"P.S.—You will send the frigate back with your reply."

Saunders' reply was sent off on the 16th November: a long and intensely interesting review of the position, with a covering note in which he lamented never having been either at Marseilles or Cadiz, but showed his keenness to gather up all possible intelligence that might further Anson's views. The despatch must be given in full:—

"Marseilles being the port at which all the trade of the enemy in the Mediterranean centres, I have long considered it a place of the greatest importance in these parts, consequently a successful attempt on it would be a fatal blow to their Marine and Commerce. Its situation being by the seaside and its fortifications (as is

Life of Admiral Saunders

said) very slight to the land, are inviting circumstances to attempt it. From a view of the draught of that part of the coast there appears no great difficulty in making a descent near to the place ; the fleet attending such a service perhaps may not be able to lie in full security from all annoyance from the enemy or from the weather, till a landing is made good, but at the proper season that hazard may be run for so great an object.

“The several islands of Roteanneau, Pomegu and Iff, I am informed, are well fortified and command all the best anchoring places, but it is a question with me whether to reduce any of them first would not require more time than to reduce the town itself by a sudden and vigorous attack, before any succours could be thrown into it by the enemy, but of these matters, or of what can be undertaken after landing, I am really no judge, they being out of my sphere, nor have the knowledge of such things as are necessary for forming an opinion thereupon, such as the true nature of the Fortification, the nature of the ground, whether the approaches after landing are easy or difficult, etc., nor am I a judge of the number of troops requisite.

“The fleet proper to be employed must in a great measure be regulated by the force the enemy may be supposed able to employ against us ; and it ought to be sufficient to enable the commanding officer to keep a superior force to the enemy in constant readiness to oppose them independent of those that may be necessary

The Chances of Success

for attending the operations of the Army, for such as are so employed cannot be supposed to be always ready and fit for action ; neither should the safe retreat of the army from the continent depend solely upon those ships who are to engage the enemies' fleet when they may appear, and by thus securing the army against all hazard of being surprized by sea or of wanting a fleet to retreat to, their spirits will be kept up in their operations at landing. As it is reasonable to expect some accidents must happen in prosecuting such an expedition both to the men-of-war and transports, and as well from the weather as from the enemy, the greatest inconvenience attending it that occurs to me at present will be that of being so far from any port of our own or of a friend's (if those of Spain can't be trusted to), and making use of the King of Sardinia's ports would perhaps expose him to the resentment of France to whom his country lies open, so that there is no port to trust to but this which is 250 leagues off. However, success may in some measure be a remedy for this inconveniency, but every precaution should be taken against the fleet and army being distressed for want of water, which is to be apprehended either in case of failing in the attempt or in case of the troops not being able to keep their ground long enough to recruit their expence, and I think proper to inform your Lordship that whenever the transports may arrive at Gibraltar, they can't recruit their water there, there being often so great a scarcity that I am obliged to send some of the ships of the squadron to Tetuan,

Life of Admiral Saunders

which, being a dangerous coast, is a precarious dependence. I don't suggest this difficulty in order to discourage the expedition, but in order that some remedy may be thought of, amongst others that of having ships loaded with water for the transports may be proper ; as to the men-of-war here they may, against the proper time, be fully compleated.

"After such an expedition should be resolved on and its coming this way can be no longer concealed, its being reported to be against Mahon, may possibly occasion a reinforcement to be sent to that island which will be favourable to the other scheme, or if they should be alarmed for Marseilles and draw their troops from Mahon, that place will be exposed ; a small squadron in advance at the proper time to cruize about that island may favour the appearance of the Design being against it.

"I herewith send the best plan I have of the Bay of Marseilles, also an account of the military in Provence last year, since the receipt of which I have been informed that it remains the same, and if there had been any late alterations I believe I should have been informed of it, it coming to me from hands who I think may be depended upon, and who if I send to them may be able to dispatch a person to Marseilles and get an account of that place for your further satisfaction if your Lordship approves of my taking that step.

"In case of a rupture with Spain a successful attack upon their ships at Cadiz would certainly be a stroke of great importance, and great

English Built Spanish Ships

honour would accrue to his Majesty's arms thereby, but as I have never been at that place I cannot at present give any authentic account thereof, but no means in my power shall be neglected to secure the best plans and draughts thereof as soon as possible, which I will transmit to your Lordship with every other information I am able to procure worthy your Lordship's notice.

"Inclosed is a list of the Spanish Navy which I had lately from Cadiz with two other lists (inclosed also), by which your Lordship will see how some part of their fleet is employed, but since the date of those lists five ships of the line have sailed for the West Indies, three from Cadiz with 5,000 troops on board, and two from Barcelona with two barks ; it is said the latter carried 3,500 barrels of powder, 1,500 bomb shells, 500 chests of arms and a considerable quantity of cannon ball. In conversing with some Spanish officers I have understood the occasion of this armament to be that 2,000 of the last troops sent to America have turned robbers, and these are intended to reduce them and send them home, officers and all.

"Such of their men-of-war as I have lately met with are exceeding fine ships and scarce to be distinguished from English, which is owing to their having a very able English builder at Cadiz and another at Cartagena. Should a rupture with Spain ensue, these men might give us the most useful information, and if there still remains in them any attachment to their native country, they might possibly be purchased for that purpose.

Life of Admiral Saunders

“I have not been able to procure any authentic account of the number of their seamen, but the number of their trading vessels appears to be greatly increased this war, insomuch that considering how many of their ships are already manned, I am inclined to think that by a general embargo they would soon be able, in regard to numbers, to man their whole navy.

“I cannot yet learn anything with certainty concerning the state of their stores, but I have heard that the Arsenals, docks, etc., etc., which they have for some years been employed about at Cadiz, are formed on a more extensive plan and will, when finished, be the compleatest work of the kind. I am also told that the fortifications which are intended for the defence of these works are left to be compleated last, a small part of them only being yet finished, and they are building Arsenals, etc., on the same plan at Cartagena. These reports are only what I have accidentally picked up in conversation, but I hope soon to be more particularly informed of all these matters.

“If on a rupture with the Spaniards the French should put Minorca into their hands, or if from any other circumstance Oran should become an object worthy of attention, I enclose to your Lordship a plan of that place given me by Captain Palliser, who was lately cruising off that place. It is a fine harbour and has a good Castle for its defence, and I think there is no doubt but the Algerines would act in Concert with us to drive the Spaniards out of that country, and perhaps if it were thought worthy

“Crouching for a Spring”

of our acceptance, give us that harbour and castle with some advantageous grants in regard to trade, which I apprehend might be worth attending to as there are several large and populous towns in the inland parts of that neighbourhood, and the French do now reap very great advantages in their trade to Bona, a strong fortified settlement in Barbary, which they possess by virtue of some grant of this kind from the Turk.”

Events were now to develop apace, unfortunately more rapidly than news could be got through to Saunders. Mr. Corbett says he was at Gibraltar “crouching for a spring.” Cadiz as well as Marseilles was in his mind, when word reached him in December from the Earl of Bristol, the British Ambassador at Madrid, of the critical situation. The Spaniards had responded to the Ambassador’s request for definite information as to their intentions, by orders which they attempted to keep secret, that every British ship in Spanish ports should be seized. On the 24th December Saunders once more wrote home regretting that he had never been in “the Bay of Cadiz,” and as he could get no satisfactory information from others who had, he was unable to determine how far an attack was practicable, “or whether the hazard is not too great even for so very considerable an object.” At the end of the

Life of Admiral Saunders

first week in the new year he reported that the Spaniards at Cadiz had been putting themselves "with great vigour" into a state of defence; they were alarmed, probably, by rumours that Saunders was about to attack them in punishment for the seizure of English ships.

From all the circumstances, the claims on his own resources on both the Mediterranean and Atlantic side, and the necessity of guarding the Straits, Saunders was sorry he could not "but look upon an attack on Spanish ships at or about the Puntals as too hazardous an undertaking" and without any prospect of success to His Majesty's arms. Until he heard further from England he declined to make the attempt. These uncertainties did not prevent him apparently when, nearly three weeks after the event, he learned that war had been declared against Spain, from making a move with a view to effecting this "too hazardous" undertaking. He arrived off Cadiz in the third week in January, but too late to deliver the stroke he may have contemplated, much to his chagrin though not to his surprise.¹ That he was right to resist what must have been a strong temptation is unquestioned. Success would have meant much: failure might have involved

¹ Newcastle Correspondence, Add. MSS., British Museum.

Hay's Urgent Message

irreparable disaster. All his ships were wanted on other duties, and as Choiseul's scheme for invading England was now to be based on a Franco-Spanish rendezvous at Ferrol, it became more than ever important that he should be in a position to prevent any junction of the Mediterranean and Atlantic forces. Even the blockade of Cadiz would have been a mistake. "His fine strategical insight and his masterly grasp of the essential conditions quickly convinced him" of this. "It would be trying too much at the risk of losing everything."¹

His perplexities were increased by receipt of an urgent secret message from Hay, the British representative at Lisbon. Portugal had resisted all suggestions that for her own integrity sake she should throw in her lot with France and Spain: if England understood the importance of Portuguese friendship, Portugal, on her part, saw that she had more to gain by steadfast loyalty to England than by listening to blandishment or thinly-veiled menace from either Paris or Madrid. But her peril was great, and one day Saunders got a letter from Hay requesting him to send some ships to the Tagus, which might be instructed "to drop one by one as by accident into this port so as

¹ Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, Vol. i.

Life of Admiral Saunders

to form a small squadron of great and small ships here." He entreated the Admiral to take this "under his most serious consideration," and "to rely upon me for the expediency of this measure. The case is urgent."

Not unnaturally Admiral Saunders was concerned as to the particular mission for which the ships were wanted, and he could ill afford to part with any. However, he felt that the necessity for such a message must be great, and despatched the *Thunderer*, *Montague*, and *Anson*. But he desired to know "the nature of the service on which they were to be employed, for it is impossible for me to give any orders in regard to matters I am ignorant of." The three vessels were to be returned to him within ten or twelve days. The reason for Saunders' unwillingness to part with any vessels not absolutely necessary to security elsewhere, is equally graphically and briefly expressed in a note of the 6th February, 1762. "As the French are preparing to careen many of their ships at Toulon and to fit out all they can, I apprehend I shall in a little time be greatly perplexed in the disposition of the squadron under my command, for if I cruize in the Gut with an easterly wind to intercept the French, I must leave Cadiz open, either for the Spanish ships to sail from thence or to be joined by

Why the Ships Were Wanted

others from Europe or the West Indies, and if I cruize to the west of the Gut the French may get out of the Mediterranean and by hauling close round Cape Trafalgar, make a junction with the ships at Cadiz."

Realising all this Saunders seems rather to have repented of letting the ships go to Lisbon ; and sent a further injunction to Hay that they should be returned at once. Hay thereupon told Saunders what had happened. The Portuguese Minister, Oeyras, had confided to him a full account of Franco-Spanish plans for compelling Portugal to abandon England. Portugal was not prepared to resist a Spanish invasion, least of all could she repel a naval attack on Lisbon. Oeyras' object was to temporise while steps were being taken to put the capital in a state of defence, and it was vital to keep open the Tagus until the sea forts and such ships as she possessed could be put into a proper state of repair. There must be no obvious collusion between England and Portugal, and Spain must have no excuse for delivering an immediate blow.

In this dilemma the Portuguese Minister wanted the English ships at hand, but in order that no suggestion of their purpose might get abroad he thought even the Admiral should be kept in the dark. When Saunders

Life of Admiral Saunders

knew what the exact object in view was, he fell in with the scheme at once, even though it might cause him some embarrassment. Any serious anxiety was relieved by the arrival of Sir Peirce Brett to be his second in command, with two or three more ships which the Admiralty had sent out to reinforce him. This Hay-Oeyras-Saunders episode, says Mr. Corbett, has "long been forgotten with much else that stands to Saunders' credit. But it is well worth rescuing from oblivion as a fine example of an Admiral weighing with sagacity and ripe understanding the political object against the purely strategical, and deliberately choosing to run the risk of a strategical failure for the sake of securing a great and certain political advantage."

It was a move which appealed to the Government at home, though it was in contrast with the hesitancy that marked the decisions of Bute and most of his colleagues in England. The Portuguese themselves were naturally not anxious to present Spain with a *casus belli*. So far as Lisbon was concerned the defences were soon deemed complete, and in March the ships were returned to Saunders with full acknowledgments of Portuguese obligations.

The year brought Sir Charles Saunders no opportunity of showing his mettle in one of

The Great World-Game of Chess

the big fights which command the attention of the historian of war ; a pitched battle would have been much less wearing than the dodging from Cadiz to the Gut, from the Gut to Toulon, from Toulon back again to the Gut and Cadiz, according to the information, often wild and wholly misleading, which came to him and affected his conception of tactical exigencies. He knew that he was an essential piece in this great game of chess being played on the high seas, and in these days when he would be in wireless communication with far-flung fleets, whose movements would be dependent on his vigilant and successful manœuvring, it requires considerable powers of imagination to enter into the conditions in which Saunders maintained the barrier of the Straits against the possible exits and entrances of Spaniard and Frenchman.

But if the year brought him no big engagement, it brought plenty of exciting and varied incident to relieve the pressure of purely strategic considerations. There was another appeal from Hay that he should do something to assist the protection of the Algarve coast ; badly as he wanted cruisers for his master operations he sent off two or three, at the same time telling Hay that the Portuguese must form a coast defence flotilla under their

Life of Admiral Saunders

protection.¹ He had trouble with so-called British privateers fitted out in the Mediterranean who behaved, he said, little better than pirates : acting under English commissions they had hardly an Englishman on board, were generally commanded by a Jew or a Genoese, mostly of bad character, "to the great disgrace of the commissions they bear." They were a worry. So was the Emperor of Morocco when he refused to export cattle except on onerous terms to which Saunders would not agree, little though the time was at his disposal for handling such matters : the Emperor came to his senses when he found Saunders prepared to send to Algiers for supplies.

During the summer, Admiral Hawke was out again, this time to direct the movements of the expedition which was to transfer troops from Belle Isle to Lisbon, and Saunders' movements in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar were part of the plan which disguised the purpose and destination of the force. Plenty of prizes came to reward the Admiral and his officers and men for their unwearying patience, among them the famous treasure-ship *Hermione* ; within twenty-four hours of reaching Cadiz, the *Hermione* was captured by Saunders' cruisers, the *Active* and *Favourite*. Her cargo realised a

¹ Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War*, Vol. ii.

The Death of Anson

sum which is said to have given Saunders,¹ and the captains of the cruisers £65,000 each, commissioned officers £13,000 each, and every seaman £500.² Saunders is said by Clowes to have divided his portion with Sir Peirce Brett.³ The carriage of this treasure through London to the Tower in twenty wagons with the British colours flying above the Spanish, and accompanied by bands playing, protected by dragoons, and cheered by a prodigious concourse⁴ must have reminded some at least of the occasion, twenty years earlier, when Anson's treasure arrived from the *Nuestra Senora del Caba Donga*.

For Saunders much of the satisfaction and joy of that summer's work must have been heavily discounted by a loss to the country at large, which he would have felt as a personal bereavement, in the death of Lord Anson who, for five anxious years, had been at the head of the Admiralty. Anson was not spared to witness the completion of the war which his

¹ Beatson.

² Barrow in his *Life of Anson* says the *Active* and *Favourite* were Hawke's cruisers, and gives the spoil to Hawke and his men. He is obviously wrong, as the *Active* and *Favourite* were with Saunders.

³ *Social England*, Vol. v.

⁴ Beatson.

Life of Admiral Saunders

ripe experience, his perfect mastery of all that affected the navy, and his splendid co-operation with Pitt had done so much to make the unprecedented success it was. If, on the one hand, it may be said that Anson was fortunate in most of the men he was able to call to the discharge of the high duties he imposed on them, on the other, no small portion of the credit they reflected on the country might properly be attributed to him. To many of them he was naval father : his example inspired them, and it has often been pointed out that a quite remarkable percentage of the men who distinguished themselves on the naval side in the struggle with France were among his young officers in the voyage round the world. "Many of the best men in the navy during the Seven Years' War had learnt their first lessons and gained invaluable experience during their hard service in Anson's exploring squadron"¹—something more than an exploring squadron, by the way.

Among the lieutenants and the midshipmen, Howe, Keppel, and Saunders became First Lords of the Admiralty, and Sir Peircy Brett, Sir Peter Denis, the Hon. John Byron, Sir Hyde Parker, all attained the rank of Admiral and commanded fleets, Sir Peircy Brett

¹ Clowes, *Royal Navy*.

Anson's Influence

becoming a Lord of the Admiralty :¹ Saumarez and Cheap would have done equally well if the one had not fallen early in a most promising career and the other had not died from his hardships soon after he reached England. Anson's influence was all the greater because whilst his skill and daring as a captain, his devotion and resource as an administrator were shining examples to his subordinates, his humanity and urbanity in war as in peace conditions were far in advance of the manners and general characteristics of the naval officer of the first half of the eighteenth century. He won the love as surely as he commanded the respect and loyal service of men like Saunders and Keppel, and his record is as high above that of his immediate predecessors as Pitt's above Pelham.

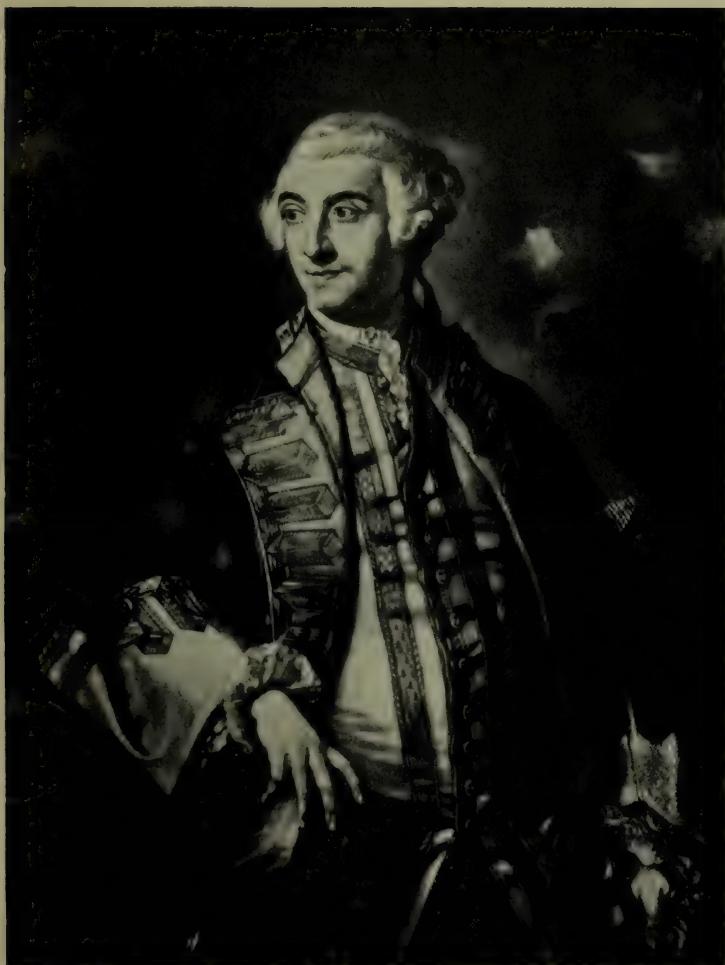
Spain soon realised that she had made a ghastly blunder, and Choiseul that his elaborate project for the invasion of England with her assistance was unavailing. The activity of the English navy on the European coasts was matched by Rodney in the West Indies, by Pocock who captured Havana, and by others in the Philippines. The autumn brought pour-parlers for peace, and the struggle of Bute and Grenville and Choiseul and the rest over terms,

¹ Barrow, *Life of Anson*.

Life of Admiral Saunders

which were ultimately signed in Paris on the 10th February, 1763. France restored Minorca, the loss of which had first called Saunders to the Mediterranean with Hawke, and renounced all claim to Canada in the conquest of which Saunders had taken so considerable a hand. Bute threw away some of the fruits of victory, but the penalty paid by France and Spain was so heavy that while Bute went down before a storm of popular contempt, the Bourbon powers sullenly bided their time to take revenge, as they did when Great Britain was at war with the American colonies.

With the peace negotiations at the end of 1762 Saunders' work at Gibraltar was done ; he handed over the command to Sir Peircy Brett and left for home on the 7th January, 1763. Before his departure he received his Commission as Vice-Admiral of the White, and hoisted his flag accordingly. He reached Spithead in the *Hercules* on the 28th January. Magnificent as was the work done by the navy during those seven years, no individual surely could look back upon his contribution to the net result with happier consciousness of devoted service rendered ; many could point to more dramatic achievements, but none to laurels more worthily won. He had not had the opportunity "to beat armadas" in accordance with Pitt's anticipation



From the portrait by

Sir Joshua Reynolds

ADMIRAL SAUNDERS

Saunders' Favourite Dish

three years before, but that was not his fault ; he would have welcomed it had it come his way ; he loved "no dish like a French ship," Horace Walpole is reported to have said to Mann, but if he did not beat armadas in actual fighting he could beat or assist to beat the best-laid plans of French and Spanish commanders by masterly activity based on sound strategy.

A Brave Statue and an Elegy

CHAPTER IX

A Brave Statue and an Elegy

SAUNDERS' Duties and Interests—A New Command—First Lord of the Admiralty—Corsica—Falkland's Island—Quebec Act—Death—Various Tributes—An Elegy.

SAUNDERS returned to an England very different from that he left three years before ; George II and Anson were dead, and Pitt no longer had a voice in the Government. The country was torn by political faction, with Grenville in power and the King resolute in his determination to complete the breaking up of the Whig ascendancy in Parliament and the Council Chamber. Saunders was still member for Heydon, having been re-elected during his absence in 1761. The reformer was clamouring for Parliamentary changes which should distribute representation more fairly, and allow at least the semblance of a choice in elections to the man not rich enough to buy boroughs for distribution at will. Parliamentary proceedings were a farce, and members were more than ever the creatures of their patrons. The national atmosphere was charged with the discontents to which we owe Burke's brochure. When the Dowager Princess of Wales, on the conclusion of the peace, exclaimed, "Now,

Life of Admiral Saunders

indeed, my son is King ! ” she meant something more. She meant that an oligarchy had been scotched and autocracy hoped to take its place. George III wanted to be absolute master in his own realm ; he was, after all, only striving to secure the position of constitutional privilege for the monarch which the House of Commons sought to secure for itself in other respects. His efforts to maintain his authority unchallenged by the Whigs were not more determined than the resolution of the Commons to stand no nonsense on the part of a Wilkes and to resist the ridiculous pretensions to freedom on the part of the Press.

To report the doings of Parliament was almost as heinous an offence as sedition itself. Democracy, so-called, was not to be born for another three-quarters of a century, but the nation, supreme at sea, an Empire in every sense of the word, was beginning to ask why it should not have a larger voice in affairs. It is not a little significant that at this time, when the claim to an extended franchise in England was being raised, when the people at home, called upon to carry a doubled load of national debt, wanted a fuller representation in the Parliament which was to deal with the question of ways and means, the Government should have decided to introduce measures that were to provide the colonists in

Empire and Democracy

America with the cry that the Imperial authorities were seeking to impose taxation without representation. What real voice had the people at home in the raising and spending of the millions which had gone to free the Americans of a nightmare greater than any involved in Grenville's Stamp Act ?

For a time Saunders would have had enough to do to look after his private affairs, to discharge the incidental duties of his high station and to clear up the thousand-and-one little matters which demanded attention from the Government and the leaders in the late campaign. Of one of these we get an idea from the Privy Council records :—¹

“Order in accordance with the following :—

“Admiralty memorial of 19 March, 1764. Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Saunders having transmitted to Us a petition of Augustine Rabbi, a North American French Pilot, Setting forth that being a prisoner in England in the month of January, 1759, he was sent on Board your Majesty's ship *Neptune* to serve as Pilot for the Gulph and River of St. Lawrence ; and that in the years 1760 and 1761 he served as pilot on board other of your Majesty's ships ; that during the Siege of Quebec his house in that town was burnt and everything he had there destroyed ; that he has had no allowance since August, 1761, which has obliged him to contract several

¹ Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series, 1745-1766.

Life of Admiral Saunders

Debts at Quebec for the support of himself and Family ; And Sir Charles Saunders having informed Us that this pilot served with him in the *Neptune* during the expedition against Quebec and was very serviceable for which Sir Charles was authorized to promise him that he should be rewarded here ; we beg leave to lay this State of the said Rabbi's Case before your Majesty, and in consideration of his Services and also in regard to his Losses, which are Certified by Brigadier General Murray, We do humbly propose that a Pension of Five Shillings a Day may be allowed him for his future support and that the same be placed upon the Ordinary Estimate of the Navy."

In this year, 1764, Saunders was also busy with others in seeking to advance his personal fortunes. Already a rich man he aimed at becoming a landed proprietor beyond the seas. On the 9th May there was referred to the Committee of the Privy Council "a Memorial of Admiral Charles Knowles, Sir Charles Saunders, Sir George Brydges Rodney, and Richard Spry, Esquire, in behalf of themselves and other officers and merchants, humbly praying, for the reasons therein contained, that a grant may be made of the whole island of St. John's to be divided among them by lots of 20,000 acres each, the memorialists undertaking to make good and fully compleat the settlement of that island within the expiration

An Interesting Memorial

of ten years." The Committee's response was to refer the memorialists severally to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. The petition appears to have originated with, or been specially adopted by, the Earl of Egmont on behalf of himself and nine children and a great number of land and sea officers for a "grant in fee" of the island. In the view of the Committee the conditions of settlement and tenure proposed were "entirely impolitick, inexpedient, and anti-commercial." Hence the Earl's memorial was submitted to the Attorney and Solicitor-General to report whether anything in the proposals were "anti-constitutional or illegal," and if so to suggest amendments. The question, it may here be said, was not settled till three years later, when the Committee dismissed the petition of Saunders, Keppel, and the rest, the rejection, however, being without prejudice to applications for separate grants on conditions which "the experience of former times" had shown to be expedient. The Earl of Egmont announced that he had no intention to take up land in St. John's, but the others made their "separate applications," and in July, 1767, we find "the Right Honourable Sir Charles Saunders, Knight of the Bath," among those to whom lots were granted.

Life of Admiral Saunders

Keppel was back from Havana in 1764, and from a letter of his to the Marquis of Rockingham in April the following year, we learn that Saunders was suddenly appointed to the command of a fleet fitted out in apprehension of a fresh rupture with France and Spain. Grenville was still in office, maintaining an uneasy contest with the King. The Earl of Sandwich held Pitt's old portfolio as Secretary of State. Sandwich is immortalised first by the indigestible appeaser of appetite which every railway buffet is supposed to provide, and second by a group in Polynesia which Cook named after him. Keppel and Saunders were both Rockingham men, and liked the Grenville-Sandwich regime as little as did the King. Sandwich was a gambler who preferred the card-table to the council-board. The trail of the partisan serpent, which is over all documents of the eighteenth century and makes them all suspect, is not wholly accountable for the misgivings with which Keppel regarded this new appointment of Saunders.¹

"I cannot help owning that my spirits have been too much agitated upon the present equipment, not for the being out of it myself, but for the critical and dangerous situation they (the Ministers) have drawn my friend Sir

¹ *Life of Keppel.*

Saunders' New Appointment

Charles into. Surely he plunged head over heels without considering—I don't mean that the King and public were to be deprived of his services, but his health was a good and real pretence to beg time to consider and at no rate to have undertaken the command without naming his assistants. . . . He writes me word he had asked Lord Sandwich to have me with him which was answered in the negative. I felt, in reading this, more bent for Sir Charles than for myself; for certainly had such an offer come to me, I must have found myself unequal to a subaltern employment, having neither health nor activity equal to it. Besides this had I been at my friend's elbow I should have said it was making me too cheap mentioning my name for employment to such a man. I know the public would think ill of any officer that declined improperly his services; but if petitioning for employment is expected I must meet and prefer the censure that may belong to my pride.

“I have wrote twice to Sir Charles, wishing him health to go through his undertaking. I have avoided the question of right or wrong in my letters. He has embarked and his spirits must be kept up. I could not help mentioning that I feared the M——s felt pleasure in separating us, but that it would not make me more humble.

“My real love for Sir Charles would influence me to give up every consideration of my own for him, and yet as things are I heartily wish he had not mentioned my name.

“The fleet our friend is put at the head of is,

Life of Admiral Saunders

indeed, for its numbers the most respectable I ever heard of. It will be a trying matter when the time comes. If the orders attending this fleet should disgrace the appearance of it, or even be doubtful as to its acting, I tremble to think of the scrape Sir Charles will have got into. I point out nothing of this sort to him. He is likely to feel the touch of a bad business as soon as myself."

Nothing came of the new menace, and in July Grenville, having paved the way to trouble with America by passing the Stamp Act in March and involved himself in fresh difficulties with the King over the question of the Regency, resigned. George III, much as he hated the Whigs, had no alternative but the Marquis of Rockingham, whose principal contribution to eighteenth-century distinction was the introduction of Burke to London and Parliament. In the new administration, Saunders was made one of the Lords of the Admiralty, his friend Keppel becoming one of the Junior Lords. Rockingham repealed the Stamp Act, but saved the face of Majesty by a Declaratory Act, affirming in effect the right of Parliament to do just what he proposed not to do. Maintain the principle but reject the practice was Rockingham's compromise: whereas it was the principle as surely as any specific attempt to enforce it, to which the Colonies objected.

In Rockingham's Ministry

Timorous steps towards conciliation left matters pretty much where they were.

Sir Charles Saunders was certainly as opposed as either Rockingham or Pitt to any attempt to coerce the Colonies. Rockingham's Government lasted a year ; the King hated its attitude on every question, and was anxious as ever to prevent any Whig ministry from securing real control of affairs. He turned once more to Pitt : the great Commoner was not now the man physically or mentally he had been : his health had broken down, and George III felt equal to holding him in check. Pitt was induced to undertake the task of forming a new Government in August, 1766, the result being one of the most extraordinary coalitions even in the history of British politics. He brought in certain of his own friends and agreed to retain as colleagues several of the members of Rockingham's Government—among them Saunders, who became First Lord of the Admiralty and a Privy Councillor, and Keppel.

Saunders now filled the office which Anson had raised to such distinction, but he filled it in very different circumstances. The new ministry Burke described as "chequered and speckled : a piece of joinery as crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed ; a cabinet so variously

Life of Admiral Saunders

inlaid ; such a piece of diversified mosaic ; such a tessellated pavement without cement ; here a bit of black stone and there a bit of white ; patriots and courtiers ; King's friends and Republicans ; Whigs and Tories ; treacherous friends and open enemies, that it was, indeed, a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch and unsure to stand on." It was not the ministry which Pitt would have got together a very few years ago ; to make the loosely-knit structure still more unstable, Pitt accepted a Peerage, which removed him from the Chamber where control was most needed. By universal agreement Chatham was not Pitt : Parliament and the country treated the elevation as a betrayal of them and himself. In Chatham died the great Commoner, virtually and actually. He was ill, and as the gout developed and his authority declined so his domineering temper grew. Saunders would have shared the general admiration for Pitt, the heaven-sent minister who assumed control in the hour of the country's greatest need ; in Chatham he found an overbearing chief, who may well have made him speculate as to whether this was the man with whom Anson had worked so long.

Sir Charles Saunders' appointment was the occasion of some dissatisfaction among his

First Lord

seniors in the service. Sir George Pocock instantly wrote to the Admiralty to resign, and desired that his name might be struck off the list of Admirals. The request was attributed to the selection of Sir Charles Saunders as First Lord.¹ As head of the Admiralty Saunders took the strictest view of his duty, and showed himself as unready to be a party to jobs as Anson could have been. Newcastle, pastmaster in the art of distributing favours in gratitude for services rendered or to come, was among the first to send the First Lord his warmest congratulations, in which there was doubtless sincerity, because none could know better than Newcastle how well-earned the preferment was. "I should," he wrote from Claremont, "not deserve the character of a friend of my country and to the true and staunch interest of it, if I did not extremely rejoice at a disposition which I think more material to the honour, interest, and safety of this country than any other that could be made."² The Duke, however, was not long in discovering that the interests of the country might also be advanced by attention to the claims of certain protégés of his. But Saunders, eager though he was to further the Duke's views, did not see his way to

¹ Sir J. K. Laughton, *Dictionary of National Biography*

² Newcastle MSS., British Museum.

Life of Admiral Saunders

oblige. Among the few letters of his which have been preserved, one is an expression of regret that he cannot provide a guardship at Portsmouth for Captain Holwall, as the Duke suggests; another that he cannot continue Captain Webster in command of the *Hazard* sloop—the first being administratively unwise, apparently; the second against the rules laid down by the Board.¹ It must have cost Saunders an effort to refuse the Duke's request, alike on account of the Duke himself and of the men for whom his Grace asked favours. Saunders, as an officer in Wolfe's army bore witness,² was as kind and considerate as he was courageous—"a friend of friendless young men and a discoverer and rewarder of merit." His letters to Newcastle show that in his affability was no weakness.

The ministry was some three months' old when Chatham decided to dispense with Lord Edgcumbe's services as Treasurer of the Household: Edgcumbe was one of the Rockingham contingent in the Cabinet, and his friends, including Saunders and Keppel, took his dismissal as an affront to themselves. Saunders was succeeded at the Admiralty by Hawke. The following year Chatham was able to take

Newcastle MSS.

Doughty, *Siege of Quebec*, Vol. iii.

Saunders and Corsica

comparatively little part in the affairs of his Government, and in 1768 he retired, leaving the control to the Duke of Grafton. In the General Election in May of that year, Saunders was "again rechosen representative for the Borough of Heydon."¹ A question in which he necessarily took a more lively interest than in the Wilkes and Parliamentary reform controversies came before Parliament in the shape of the future of Corsica. The island belonged to Genoa: the Corsicans had risen in revolt, and the Genoese sought to escape further trouble by selling the island to France. The Corsicans were as opposed to being taken over by France as to continuing their allegiance to Genoa. In England feeling ran strongly on the side of the islanders, and that feeling was all the stronger from the recognition of the importance to a Mediterranean power of such a possession. The British Ministry remonstrated with France but could not make up its mind to vigorous measures; when France seemed inclined to withdraw, England secretly sent the Corsicans arms which provoked a decisive conflict ending, in May, 1769, in the flight of the Corsican General, Paoli, the refugee with whom in later years Johnson loved to exchange ideas in London.

¹ Campbell, *Naval History*, Vol. v.

Life of Admiral Saunders

The House of Commons, meanwhile, had adopted the view attributed to Lord Mansfield, who was then in Paris: Corsica was not worth a war. France took advantage of the half-heartedness of the British Government. Even Burke was moved to exclaim: "Corsica a province of France is terrible to me."¹ In the House of Commons only one member, according to Mahon, was willing plainly to tell the Government that "it would be better to go to war with France than consent to her taking possession of Corsica." That member was Saunders. In November, 1768, he assured the House that he did not object to treating with France on the question, but he would have a fleet in Corsican waters at the same time. "The island will be a nest of privateers: it will ruin our trade in the Mediterranean." A little later he again warned Parliament of the consequences which the taking of Corsica by France must involve. He was convinced the peaceful acceptance of French action could be of no possible advantage to Great Britain, and he added, "I have never thought that the French began war with this country without shuddering. We ought to get a number of men ready upon the first notion of a war."²

¹ Mahon, *History of England*, Vol. v.

² Cavendish, *Debates of the House of Commons*.

France takes Corsica

Saunders' counsel went unheeded, with dire results. Mightier events even than he anticipated were to flow from the acquisition of Corsica. In 1769 the island was formally annexed by France: on the 15th August of that year Lætitia Romolino, the young and beautiful wife of Carlo Buonaparte, gave birth to the most remarkable man who was ever born a French subject. Could the most mechanical constructor of the most approved melodrama evolve a coincidence more striking than the birth, in the very year of its acquisition, of a Corsican who was one day to rule France and to overrun Europe with his armies? It was Destiny, and interesting as they may be, all speculations as to what might have happened had Saunders' views prevailed are futile. All we can say is, had France not taken Corsica from the Genoese against the wishes of the Corsicans themselves, the history of France and of the world would have been changed.

Difficulties as to another island in which Saunders had more than a passing concern cropped up in 1770: this time it was Falkland's Island, as it was called, one of the islands in the South Atlantic, the strategic importance of which was first recognised when the record of Anson's voyage came to be duly weighed.

Life of Admiral Saunders

Saunders may possibly have seen the Falkland Islands, or been in actual touch with them, during his early days in command of the *Tryal*. They were taken possession of by Byron in 1764 and a small British settlement had been made. Spain learnt nothing from the lesson of 1762, and news reached England in June, 1770, that the Governor of Buenos Ayres had seized the islands. Only when England showed that she was prepared to go to war did the Spanish Governor climb down. Saunders was very irate, and saw the hand of France in this action of Spain. He said little in a first speech on the subject in the House of Commons, lest strong words should work mischief, but he asked for information as to the steps the Government had taken in adopting "necessary preparations without delay," as the King's speech stated.

In a second speech Saunders was sarcastic at the expense of Hawke who, as head of the Admiralty, spoke confidently of the readiness and strength of the navy. Saunders—now Admiral of the Blue—saw no evidence of it, and expressed his conviction—a conviction which time was to justify—that Spain and France only needed the opportunity to "fall upon England at a moment when we should not have a friend in the world to move a little

Saunders' Views on Spain

finger for us.”¹ In a note of the affair and the attitude adopted by His Majesty's Government, given by another chronicler, we read² that “Sir Charles Saunders, in a very short speech, made a sensible observation which struck the House exceedingly.”

“He said the address was an approbation of the general conduct of Ministers. He thought it would be great impropriety to agree to such an address before inquiry into the conduct of Ministers was made. The inquiry should precede the approbation. Therefore he thought the Captains of the *Tamer* and *Favourite* sloops should be brought to the bar to give the House an account of the proceedings of the Spaniards at Falkland's Island and what information they gave the Ministers relative to the affair.”

In so many words Saunders was not prepared to give ministers credit for a transaction as to which he was informed only through their own words. The next year, when 157 members voted in approval of the Spanish declaration on the subject, we find the name of Keppel but not of Saunders among them. We have, therefore, no means of knowing what his ultimate views were. So far as we can gather he and Keppel saw eye to eye in most things and

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Parliamentary History*, Vol. xvi.

Life of Admiral Saunders

went into the same lobby on all questions. In 1772, when Lord North was in power and Lord Sandwich was again Secretary of State, the navy, according to Mr. Lucas¹—and the evidence that he is right is ample—was in a bad way.

Notwithstanding the critical times, with the ever-present possibility of a new war with France or Spain or both, and the deepening resentment of the American colonies, the fleet was not maintained in a state of efficiency such as, it might have been thought, the Seven Years' War had shown was necessary. Mr. Lucas, oracle-like, says the sailors in Parliament must share responsibility with North and Sandwich :—

“In 1772 when there was a Menace of war, two Admirals in Parliament, Keppel and Sir Charles Saunders, opposed an increase of strength. If Walpole is to be believed they confessed as sailors they could object, as politicians they would not approve. In the more sober pages of the *Parliamentary History* (Jan. 29, 1772), we find the two Admirals reported together as condemning the naval demonstration of the Government on two grounds. There was need for more men, and modern naval critics will be interested to hear that they committed themselves to the policy of skeleton

¹ Lucas, *Life of Lord North*.

The State of the Fleet

crews. 'Let us be provided with ships,' they said, 'emergency crews can always be supplied by the agency of impressment.' Next year Saunders is reported to have said to some members of Parliament: 'I hope there will be some motion made that I may go down to the House and vote against the Administration. I shall go to Portsmouth on Thursday and will hoist my flag and go into my ship and never stir out of it while I stay in England. . . . If I sail it will be war.' Than, which, says Mr. Lucas, it is difficult to imagine a more contradictory and suicidal state of mind."

I agree, and agree so emphatically that I do not believe the Walpole story at all, any more than I believe much on like authority that passes for history simply because it is an entertaining contemporary chronicle. Posterity may see in such reports ample excuse for the agitation in favour of the freedom of the Press. At least when men's words can be reported by the stenographer, whose record is as trustworthy as that of the camera, we are on surer ground than that provided by gossip which at best is second-hand and subject to memory's inexactitudes.

Chatham's illness and political differences have often been described, and in colours which convey the impression of a sufferer at war with half the men with whom or through

Life of Admiral Saunders

whom he had worked in happier and more glorious days. The circumstances in which Sir Charles Saunders left the Ministry in 1766 might suggest that he and Chatham were personally antipathetic if not actually antagonistic. A letter from the Admiral disposes effectually of this idea. Chatham, in 1772, desired to have Saunders' portrait to hang in the ball-room at Burton Pynsent with his own and Lady Chatham's, Lord Temple's, the Marquis of Granby's, and Admiral Boscawen's. Saunders' letter to the Earl¹ is a nice index to the man's character :—

“ SPRING GARDENS,
“ 10th Dec., 1772.

“ My Lord,

“ You have put a plain seaman under great difficulties. I assure you I find it a great deal harder to make a proper answer to your Lordship's civilities than to execute any order I ever received from you.

“ Your Lordship has made an exchange with me that I am a gainer by in every way. You have my picture, and I will keep your Lordship's letter as a thing I am at least as proud of as a mark I wear of the King's approbation of the services I meant to do in that time which was truly glorious ; because the best and ablest men in the Kingdom were then united in the service of their country.

¹ *Correspondence of Chatham*, Vol. iv.

Saunders and Liberty

"When your Lordship has furnished your room with the pictures you propose, your children will have as many monuments as there are pictures there of the wisdom and spirit of their father that encouraged so many worthy actions. My share was the least in them, though my reward is the greatest in your Lordship's partiality and friendship.

"I am the more pleased with your thinking me a friend to liberty than with all the rest. I am so to the bottom, and you may depend upon it. I think a country can have no glory without it, and I have always been happy whenever I could act under your Lordship for the support of it.

"I am, with greatest respect and esteem,

"Your Lordship's most obed^t. and most obliged humble servant,

"CHARLES SAUNDERS."

Saunders described himself as peculiarly pleased to be thought "a friend of liberty." With Keppel doubtless he had anxious thoughts as to what he would do if war with the Colonies came and he was called upon to fight them. What line he would have taken we may judge for ourselves : as to what his action would have been when Frenchman and Spaniard cut in to take their revenge there can be no two opinions. But he was spared the ordeal. Like Chatham he suffered from gout. Keppel, writing to Rockingham from Bath in March, 1773, said : "Poor Sir Charles has had a bad time of it."

Life of Admiral Saunders

Later he hopes for public tranquillity, and that "my friend, Sir Charles, may make use of the time to re-establish his health." The Admiral, in the 1774 Election, stood as a candidate for Yarmouth, but was beaten, and for the fourth time was elected for Heydon. Whatever the state of his health—and judging from Keppel's correspondence it was not good—Saunders was active in the House of Commons during this year.

He spoke several times in committee on the Bill for the better government of Quebec—the Bill which, by securing the French Canadian in all that was promised him, as to his own laws and language, gave deep offence to the British alike on the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, and the Delaware. Though Sir Charles Saunders did not altogether like the measure, he confined himself to speaking on that part of it which related to the fishery. He feared that giving fishing rights to Canada would encourage French participation in the captures off the Labrador coast to the detriment of England. He emphasised the importance of the fisheries as a training-ground for seamen and wanted to see "the liberty of fishing" remain under the inspection of the Governor of Newfoundland. "Give up the fishery, you will lose your breed of seamen, and I know no way that the country has of breeding seamen

The Admiral's Last Utterance

but two : one the fishery, and the other the coasting trade. Sir, the fishery is worth more to you than all the possessions you have put together. Without that policy your possessions are not safe, nor are you safe in your own country. Instead of doing anything to hurt your fishery new methods should be begun to rear more seamen. God knows how much you will find the want of seamen whenever this country finds it necessary to equip its fleets." That does not look as though there was much in Mr. Lucas's suggestion that Admiral Saunders was a party to the policy which neglected the navy.

A good deal of sympathy was expressed with Saunders' view, but Lord North and his colleagues considered his fears unfounded, and the clause was carried as introduced. This is the last public utterance I can trace of Admiral Saunders. His health was gradually but surely failing, and he died from gout in the stomach on the 7th December, 1775 : he lived just long enough to learn that the great work he and Wolfe had begun with the conquest of Quebec, had been thrown into the melting-pot by the American revolt.

That the death of Sir Charles Saunders was genuinely felt to be a real loss to the country is proved by various tributes. Burke and

Life of Admiral Saunders

Hartley both pronounced eulogies on him in Parliament ; Horace Walpole spoke of him as "that brave statue." "Admiral Saunders," he said, "was a pattern of most steady bravery united with most unaffected modesty. No man said less or deserved more. Simplicity in his manner, generosity and good nature adorned his genuine love of his country." Hartley, speaking on the proposals for the pacification of America, referred to his death in especially sympathetic terms. "This day," he said, "is marked by one of the greatest losses that this country can sustain in the death of a great naval commander who has carried the Empire of the British flag to the highest point of glory : a name well known to America, not only on our common element the ocean, but as an earnest and zealous friend of the constitutional and civil rights of America. Though an individual may feel the loss of a private friend in him, yet that is buried in the public loss. He was every man's friend. He was a friend to his country and only for himself may his death be thought happy, in this, at least, that he has not outlived the glories of his country which was the anxiety of his latest hours : neither will his memory outlive its just and constant tribute of veneration and gratitude from every part of our dominions."

Tributes to Saunders

How near memory has been to doing just what Hartley predicted as out of the question we know. Saunders was buried privately in the Abbey close to the monument to Wolfe, "who had been his noble associate in war, his compeer in gallantry, but from the untimely fate of the General, not in fortune."¹ He lies with the nation's great ones, and a recent chronicler says that a vacant seat awaits him among the immortals.²

Not the least notable of the tributes paid to him was an Elegy written by the Rev. Robert English, Chaplain to the Twelfth Regiment of Foot and to Admiral Lord Hawke. It was published in 1777, and was dedicated to Hawke in these terms:—

"The high sense you have entertained of the friendship, generosity and magnanimity of Sir Charles Saunders and his distinguished gallantry in the first war when he fought under your Lordship's immediate observation and command naturally lead me, exclusive of the dictates of Personal Duty, to introduce this Elegy to the public view under the shelter of your protecting Name.

"As the history of your Lordship's life is filled with Achievements glorious to the British flag, it is with obvious propriety that I have presum'd

¹ Charnock, *Biographic Navalis*, Vol. v.

² Callender, *Sea Kings of Britain, Albemarle to Hawke*.

Life of Admiral Saunders

to inscribe to your Lordship this humble but zealous attempt to celebrate the memory of a great Admiral of fame and character so similar to your own."

The Elegy is not great poetry, but it has at least the merit of throwing some light on the character and work of a man too little known by posterity. Such a tribute would hardly have been written, it certainly would not have been published, with the approval of Lord Hawke, if it had not some better *raison d'être* than verse turned out to order by the uninspired laureate retainer. If here and there a line is merest doggerel, the personal and patriotic sentiment animating the whole justifies Mr. English's efforts. I give it at length :—

ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF SIR C. SAUNDERS

How vain the transient scene of pomp and praise
A glaring Meteor with delusive rays !
See ! Spoils of war, from earth and ocean borne !
The Pageant closes with the Victor's Urn
Swift from our birth th' impatient moments run,
Eager to ruin what they've just begun :
As black'ning storms o'erwhelm the careless day,
While sunshine glitters, and soft zephyrs play,
Fate oft with raven wing comes sweeping on ;
E're well our fears awake, our hopes are gone :
Nor Indian mines can gain, nor scepter'd power
The poor addition of a fleeting hour.
In life's gay dawn Saunders exalted shone,
Crown'd with fair garlands from Iberia won,

An Elegy

When renown'd Anson led his conqu'ring Train,
Round the vast circle of the wond'ring Main;
More than fam'd Argo's Fleece repaid their toil;
A nobler Task deserv'd a richer Spoil.

Time's lib'ral Hand still brighter wreaths bestow'd
The stream of fame collecting as it flow'd.
So Dian's Crescent gathers new supply
'Till her Full Orb beams on th' enraptur'd Eye.

Quebec surveyed from her astonish'd shore,
The ceaseless toils th' intrepid Hero bore,
And conscious Biscay's oft empurpled wave
Resounds th' applause consenting Nations gave.
How chang'd the flatt'ring scene! great, gen'rous, brave,
He falls a victim to the gloomy Grave;
Heroic as he liv'd, resigns his breath,
Nor fear'd, in Virtue clad, unconquerable Death.
The Muse, that dwelt delighted on his name,
Proud to attend him through the tract of Fame,
Droops into Elegy's complaining verse
And hangs a weeping Tribute on his Herse.
Oft let her wander through the cloister'd shade
Where her lov'd Hero's breathless corse is laid;
There from Earth's tumult an asylum find
While sacred silence aids the pensive mind;
There boasting Columns, trophied Busts survey,
Of Kings and Heroes mixed with kindred clay,
Whilst all around tremendous Lessons flow
And lift the soul from Vanity and Woe;
There let her meditate time's ebbing streams,
With bright Eternity's celestial beam,
Learn to fulfil Life's Duties as they rise,
With every vow directed to the skies.

Ye Britons! to merit ever just
Be yours the care to guard his honour'd Dust!
Thou solemn cypress, wave thy shade around,
Ye cir'cling Palms! protect the hallow'd ground.

Life of Admiral Saunders

Though mild in manners, friend to social laws
Fierce, as the Pard, in Britain's injur'd Cause ;
Ambitious then, he courted War's Alarms,
Flying on wings of Victory to Arms.
The Winds conveyed him with attentive care,
And whisper'd glory to his ravish'd Ear ;
With soul elate he plough'd the foaming tide,
With Albion's happy Genius for his Guide,
And twice the Gaul in gallant fight o'erthrown,
Rescu'd his Country's Fame and fix'd his Own.

In various life his ev'ry action show'd,
The source unsullied, whence the current flow'd :
In rage of war, resistless and severe ;
Yet temp'ring Mercy dried the Captive's tear,
His kind complacency asswag'd his pains,
And wretches bless'd him while they dragg'd his chains.
Fix'd as a Rock on Glory's tow'ring feat ;
In vain the envious Billows round him beat,
Wafting their fretful fury at his feet.
Of Worth confirm'd, in Arduous Æra tried,
Keppel's congenial friend, and smiling Ocean's pride.

Keppel ! On whom th' Heroic virtues wait,
Call'd by the General voice to save the State ;
T' assert the empire of the azure Field,
And teach the restless Gaul again to yield ;
Or seek in blushing flight, his Covert shore
Dreading the scourge so lately felt before.

This verse th' admiring Muse to Keppel owes,
The Muse who saw him crush invading Foes,
When Laurel'd Hawke on Bourbon's frighted shore
Added new Trophies to his splendid Store.
No more shall Rome unrivall'd triumphs boast ;
In British deeds her ancient name is lost ;
Her Palms transplanted to this gen'rous Isle
Spread nobler branches in a happier soil.

Smiling Ocean's Pride

Fain would the Muse t'inspiring Theme pursue,
A train of Heroes rising to her view,
But fears the daring Cretan's fate to try ;
Too bright the object, and the flight too high.

Ye British Bards ! in plaintive numbers tell,
Stopt in Fame's full career how Saunders fell :
Show him inviolate in Senate found,
Midst storms of State rooted on Public Ground ;
Show radiant tints circling his Evening Sun,
His race of Glory finish'd, as begun.

Though early lost in this tempestuous Clime,
His name disdains the ruthless wreck of Time :
His bright Example Britain's sons shall warm,
Whilst Courage can inspire, or Honour Charm,
Shall shine propitious in th' Aonian Page,
A Guiding Star to the remotest age ;
When the proud Fane,¹ which now affects the skies,
Unfaithful to his Urn, in awful ruin lies.

Go, Happy Shade, where pure enjoyments flow !
Be blest above, for gen'rous Acts below !
Through seas æthereal, Life's rude voyage o'er,
Thou gainst at length an hospitable shore :
Conflicting passions shall no more controul ;
Sooth'd ev'ry care, and harmoniz'd the Soul.

Brunswick he lov'd and his Auspicious Line ;
Yet sacred Freedom mark'd him at her Shrine.
His Star, an emblem of sublime Desert,
Shone with reflected lustre from his Heart ;
Truth, Honour, Valour, with united rays,
Inflam'd each honest breast with ardent praise,
Blaz'd his renown to Earth's extreme domains,
Where smiles Aurora, and where Hesper reigns,
Where glows the brilliant Zone, where freeze the Poles,
Far as the winds can range, or Britain's Thunder rolls.

¹ Westminster Abbey.

Life of Admiral Saunders

It is matter for profound regret that so little can be traced on the purely personal side concerning Sir Charles Saunders. Enough has, I hope, been told to prove that his great qualities as a sailor have in no way been exaggerated by the general historians' necessarily briefer chronicle: his character as a man may be gleaned from Anson's devotion to him; from his friendship with Keppel; from what Walpole, Hartley, and others said of him. We know little or nothing of his immediate family surroundings. If one may judge from his Will, dated as late as 1773, his chief attachment was Admiral Keppel, who appears to have been more to him than his relatives. As his Will contains no reference to his wife or any of her family, we get no enlightenment from that lengthy and involved legal document; the only relatives included in his bequests are his sister Ann, the wife of Peter Kinsey; his nephew Charles, son of Ann, and his niece Jane, who is wrongly described throughout the Will as Ann. The mistake may have been the lawyers', but it is strange it escaped the eye of the Admiral; and it goes to suggest that he was not very familiar with his sister's children. His principal trustees were Sir Hugh Palliser and Timothy Brett. According to the biographer of Admiral Keppel,

Last Will and Testament

Saunders gave Keppel a legacy of £5,000, with an annuity of £1,200, and included him first in the entail of all his property in case either of his nieces (then unmarried) should die without issue. I cannot quite reconcile that with the document itself. There is reference to only one niece ; and, so far as I can make out, he left Keppel £1,200 a year ; Charles Kinsey £200 a year, subject to the payment first of Keppel's £1,200 ; and his niece, £10,000. Keppel was his first consideration. That apart, the chief item of interest to be gathered from the Will is the information as to his property. He lived in Spring Gardens, in London ; but his "manors, lands, and messuages" were in Norfolk and Suffolk. They were situate at Fishley, Upton, and elsewhere in the Hundreds of South Walsham, and in the parishes of Stokesby Thrigby, Runham, and elsewhere.

APPENDIX

Wolfe's Last Orders

APPENDIX

THE final touches to the naval part of the "immortal story" of Quebec are contained in the "Extracts from Wolfe's Last Orders," given by Major Wood in *The Logs of the Conquest of Canada* (pp. 155-8):—

12th Sept. At anchor at Cape Rouge. The troops on shore, except the Light Infantry and Americans, are to be upon the beach to-morrow morning at 5 o'clock in readiness to re-embark. The Light Infantry and Americans will embark at 8 o'clock. The detachts. of Artillery are to be put on board the armed sloops this day.

The troops are to hold themselves in readiness to land and attack the enemy ; as the *Leostaff* and the *Squirrel*, frigates, are ordered to follow the flat-bottomed boats, the troops belonging to these ships are to remain in them.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FLAT-BOTTOM'D BOATS TO EMBARK TROOPS

<i>Stirling Castle</i>	.2	{	To take in 50 men each of Bragg's regt. out of the <i>Ann Elizabeth</i> transport instead of Amherst's
<i>Dublin</i> . .	.3		
<i>Alcide</i> . .	.1		

Life of Admiral Saunders

<i>Pembroke</i>	. . .4	{ To take in Kennedy's out of the Emplo'nt trans't
<i>Vanguard</i>	. . .4	{ To take in Col. Howe's corps of Light Infantry out of the <i>Eden</i> and <i>Mary</i> trans't
<i>Trident</i>	. . .4	
<i>Centurion</i>	. . .2	{ To take in Anstruther's out of the <i>George</i>
<i>Shrewsbury</i>	. . .4	
<i>Medway</i>	. . .2	{ To take in Lascelles' regt. in 5 boats out of the <i>Ward</i> , and fifty of the Royal Am'n. Grens. in the sixth boat
<i>Captain</i>	. . .4	

The remains to be taken into the boats of the fleet, two hundred Highlanders of which Captain Leslie's schooner takes 50 from the *Ann Elizabeth*. The remaining 150 Highlanders in the *Ward* transport will be taken in by the following boats—

Sutherland's long-boat	. . .	40
Alcide's	. . .	40
Medway's	. . .	40
Admiral's flat-boat	. . .	15
Sutherland's cutter	. . .	15
Total		150

SHIPS THAT CARRY TROOPS IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE FLAT-BOTTOMED BOATS

<i>Leostaff</i> , Frigate	. . .	300 of Amherst's Regt.
<i>Squirrel</i>	. . .	240 of Louisbourg Grens.
<i>Sea Horse</i>	. . .	250 Highlanders.
<i>Hunter</i> , Sloop	. . .	120 do.
Three Armed Sloops	. . .	200 of Light Infantry.

Appendix

Laurel, Transport . . . 400 Royal Americans.

Adventure, Transport . 400 Otway's.

Ordinance Vessel with tools and Artillery men.

150 Highlanders to be removed from the *George* transport into the *Sea Horse* frigate.

100 Highlanders to be removed from the *Ann Elizabeth* transport into the *Sea Horse* to-morrow morning after re-embarkation of the first body of troops from Brigar. Monckton's corps.

ORDER OF THE TROOPS IN THE LINE OF BOATS

NO. OF BOATS.

8 1st Light Infantry lead.

6 2 Bragg's Regt.

4 3 Kennedy's.

5 4 Lascelles'.

6 5 Anstruther's.

1 Flat, and Men-of-War's boat's detach't. of Highlanders. Total, 30 Flat-bottom'd and the American Grens.

Captain Shad has received the Genl.'s directions in respect to the order in w'ch. the troops move and are to land, and no officer must attempt to make the least alteration or interfere with Capt. Shad's particular province, least as the boats move in the night there be confusion and disorder among them.

The troops will go into the boats about 9 o'clock to-morrow night, or when it is pretty near high water ; but the naval officers commandg. the different divisions of boats, will

Life of Admiral Saunders

apprize them of the fittest time to land. As there will be a necessity for remaining some part of the night in the boats, the officers will provide accordingly, and the soldiers shall have a gill of rum extraordinary mixed with their water.

Arms, ammunition, and 2 days' provisions, with their rum and water, is all the soldiers are to take in their boats. Their ships, with their blankets, tents, necessarys, and so forth will soon be up.

SIGNALS

- 1st. For the flat-bottom'd boats with the troops on board to rendezvous abreast of the *Sutherland*, between her and the South shore, keeping near. 1 Light in the *Sutherland's* main-top-mast-shrouds.
- 2nd. When they are to drop away from the *Sutherland*, she will shew two lights in the main-top-mast-shrouds, one over the other.

The men are to be quite silent, and when they are about to land, must not upon any account fire out of the boats.

The officers of the navy are not to be interrupted in their part of duty; they will receive their orders from the officer appointed to superintend the whole, to whom they are answerable.

Officers of Artillery and detachments of gunners are put on board the armed sloops to

Appendix

regulate their fire, that in the hurry our troops may not be hurt by our Artillery. Captain York and the officers will be particularly careful to distinguish the enemy and to point their fire against them.

The frigates will not fire till broad day light, so that no mistake can be made.

The officers commanding the floating batteries will receive particular orders from the Genl.

The troops to be supplied to-morrow with provisions to the 14th.

INDEX

- ACAPULCO, 38, 39, 41
Achilles, the, 169-70
Active, the, 190
 Aiskell, Francis, 68
 Algarve Coast, 189
 Algiers, 157, 190
 Amherst, Sir Geoffrey, 6, 95,
 96, 118, 125, 126
Anna, the, 26, 27, 33
 Anson, Commodore, 1, 8, 16,
 17-28, 33, 35, 36, 38-41,
 43-47, 58, 63, 64, 87, 88,
 93, 175, 177, 191, 192, 193,
 207
Arranzazu, Capture of the,
 34-35
 Austrian Succession, War of,
 7, 51
- BALCHEN, Sir John, 54
 Barbary, 72-75, 157, 183
 Barré, Major, 130, 132
 Bell, Captain, 129
 Belle Isle, 166, 190
 Bland's Regiment, 17
 Bompert, Mons., 101
 Boscawen, Admiral, 6, 114,
 147, 153, 158, 164, 218
Bouffon, the, 169, 170
 Bougainville, 101, 113
 Bourbon intrigues, 161, 164,
 175, 194
 Brett, Sir Peircy, 188, 191,
 192, 194
 Brett, Timothy, 9, 61, 228
 Bristol, Earl of, 164, 183
 Brodrick, Admiral, 153
 Buonaparte, birth of
 Napoleon, 213
- Burke, 206, 207, 212, 221
 Bute, Lord, 161, 175, 188,
 194
 Byng, 2, 65, 83, 85
 Byron, Hon. John, 192, 214
- CADIZ, 176, 177, 180-187
 Cargo of courage, a, 65
 Carleton, Col., 1, 100, 101
 Carliels, the, 14
 Caskett, Lieut. Robt., 85
Centurion, the voyage of
 the, 16-47, 65; at Quebec,
 100, 127, 130, 131, 134-
 135
 Chatham (*see* Pitt), 1, 208,
 210, 217, 218, 219
 Chequetan, 39
 Choiseul Schemes, 185, 193
 Clowes, Mr., 13, 89
 Conflans, Admiral, 145, 146
 Cook, Captain, 115, 131, 132,
 204
 Corbett, Mr. Julian, 3, 89,
 97, 149, 183, 188
 Corsica, 70, 82, 212, 213
- DE LA CLUE, Admiral, 82,
 83, 84, 86, 153, 159
 Democracy and Empire, 200-
 201
 Denis, Sir Peter, 192
 Duquesne, Marquis, 83-85,
 86
 Du Revest, M., 70, 82
 Durell, Rear-Admiral, 94, 95,
 97-104, 112, 113, 119, 126,
 143

Index

Eagle, the, 55, 56-57, 59, 60
 Edgcumbe, Lord, 210
 Egmont, Earl of, 203
 Elliot, Captain, 67
 English's Elegy on Saunders,
 223-227

FALKLAND Islands, 213-214
 Fireships, 118, 122, 123
 Fishery, importance of, 220-
 221
 Fleet marriages, 61-63
Foudroyant, the, 83-85, 86
 Frederick of Prussia, 160
 French designs on England,
 52, 64, 153, 166, 185, 193

GARDINER, Capt., 83-85
 George II, 9, 63, 80, 160, 199
 George III, 160-161, 199, 200,
 206
Gloucester, the, 18-20, 25-28,
 33, 38, 40-43, 44
 Grafton, Duke of, 211
 Grenville, 193, 199, 201, 204,
 206

HANKERSON, Capt., 112
 Hardwicke, Lord, 87, 146,
 148
 Hardwicke's Marriage Act,
 61-63
 Hartley, 222, 223, 228
 Hawke, Rear-Admiral Ed-
 ward, 1, 2, 6, 54, 55, 56,
 58, 59, 65, 66, 87, 88, 102,
 114, 145, 146, 147, 153,
 190, 194, 210, 214, 223,
 224
 Hay, Hon. Edward, 167, 185,
 187, 188, 189
Hermione, the, 191

Holmes, Rear-Admiral, 88,
 94, 97-99, 100, 137, 138,
 144
 Huck-Saunders, 14
 Hughes, Lieut., 33, 39, 41

ISLIP Chapel, 3

JERVIS, Captain, 5, 120
 Juan Fernandez, 23-28
 Johnson, Doctor, 154, 211

KEPPEL, Admiral, 9, 16, 58,
 61, 166, 192, 193, 204, 206,
 210, 215, 216, 219, 220, 228,
 229

Killick, Master, 116, 117
 Kinnoul, Lord, 159
 Kinsey, Peter, 14, 228
 Knox quoted, 115-117

LAUGHTON, Sir John, 13, 15
 L'Etenduère, 55
 Louisbourg, 70, 95, 98, 99,
 106, 114, 126

MACAO, 45-47
 Mahan, Admiral, 4, 60
 Mansfield, Lord, 212
 Mas a Fuero, 26-27
 Marseilles, Saunders on,
 177-180
 Michell, Capt. Mathew, 40
 Minorca, 65, 182, 194
 Monckton, General, 122, 141,
 144
 Montcalm, General, 101, 137,
 141, 148
Monmouth, the, 84, 85
 Mordaunt, Sir John, 6

Index

- Morocco, Emperor of, 72, 80, 190
Murray, Brigadier-General, 124
- Neptune*, the, 97, 103, 104 ;
pilot's claim, 201
Newcastle, Duke of, 160, 209-210
Norris, Sir John, 52
North, Lord, 2, 216, 221
Notre Dame de la Rosarie, 168, 171
Nuestra Senora del Caba Donga, 47
Nuestra Senora del Carmela, 28, 33, 36, 41
Nuestra Senora del Carmine, 37, 41
Nuestra Senora del Monte Carmelo, 28, 33, 36, 41
Nuestra Senora del Socoro, 20, 23
- OEYRAS, Portuguese Minister, 187-188
Osborne, Vice-Admiral, 79, 81, 82, 83, 86, 88, 89
- PALLISER, Captain, 140, 157, 158, 159, 162, 164 ; Sir Hugh, 228
Parker, Sir Hyde, 192
Payta, attack on, 9, 36, 37, 38
Pitt, William, 65, 87, 93, 95, 97, 98, 153-154, 159-161, 207, 208 (*see* Chatham) ;
Saunders to, 121-128, 140-143, 145-146 ; Wolfe to, 136-137
Pizarro, 18, 21, 28
Plymouth, the, 51-52
- Pocock, Sir George, 193, 209
Portugal, 158, 159, 185, 187
Prince, the, 63, 64
- QUEBEC Basin, 113, 138
Quebec Expedition, 93 *et seq.*
Quiberon, 146
- ROCHEFORT Expedition, 6
Rockingham, Marquis of, 204, 206, 207
Rodney, Admiral, 1, 51, 55, 57, 59, 88, 193, 202
Rous, Capt., 121, 123
- SAFFEE, Prince of, 72-75, 81
Sandwich, Earl of, 204, 205, 216
Santa Teresa de Jesus, 36
Sapphire, the, 52, 53, 54
Saumarez, Capt., 9, 20, 57, 61, 193
Saunders, Captain Ambrose, 15
Saunders, Sir George, 13, 14
Saunders, Admiral Sir Charles, and the 18th century, 2 ;
portraits of, 3 ; Westminster Abbey, 3, 223 ; influence on the navy ; birth and parentage, 13-14 ; enters navy, 15 ; Anson's first lieutenant, 16 ; captain of the *Tryal*, 19 ; rounding the Horn, 21-22 ; Juan Fernandez, 23 ; the *Tryal's Prize*, 33-35 ; Payta, 37-38 ; Acapulco and Chequetan, 39 ; destroying prizes, 41 ; the *Centurion* alone left of the squadron, 43 ; Saunders returns to

Index

Saunders (*contd.*)—

England from Macao with despatches, 46; with Sir John Norris, 52; with Hawke in the battle off Cape Finisterre, 54; the *Yarmouth's* part, 55-58; Member for Plymouth, 61; marriage, 61; attitude toward fleet marriages, 61-62-3; Member for Heydon and Treasurer, Greenwich Hospital, 1754, 63; comptroller of the Navy, 1755, and Commander of the *Prince*, 63; as Rear-Admiral of the Blue, 1756, accompanies Hawke to supersede Byng, 65; the Mediterranean command, 66; du Revest escapes west, 68-70; trouble with the Moors, 72-76; Vice-Admiral Osborne takes over the command, 79; Osborne's tribute, 85; return to England, 89; Commander-in-Chief in the St. Lawrence, 94; Vice-Admiral of the Blue, 98; difficulties at the start, 100-102; up the St. Lawrence, 111-117; attempting to pass Quebec, 120-121, 129; attack on Beauport and controversy as to the part played by the boats, 130-134; the battle of 13th September, 1759, and Wolfe's death, 139-140; on way home Saunders goes to help Hawke, 145; Pitt's tribute, 147; Commander-in-Chief in Mediterranean, 154; strategy and diplomacy, 159;

Saunders (*contd.*)—

ceaseless excursions in quest of the enemy, 161-171; Saunders made K.B., 1761; Anson's secret despatch as to Cadiz and Marseilles, 175; Saunders' long reply, 177-183; Spain joins France, 183; Saunders sends ships to Lisbon on mysterious mission, 186-187; Mr. Julian Corbett's tribute, 188; the *Hermione* prize, 190-191; end of the war, 194; Vice-Admiral of the White, 194; England after three years, 199; a grant in the island of St. John's, 203; a new appointment, 204-5; Rockingham's First Lord of the Admiralty, 207-210; the Corsican question, 211-213; Falkland Islands, 213-214; Admiral of the Blue, 1770, 214; Chatham wants Saunders' portrait, 218; Canadian fishery question, 220; death, 221; various tributes, 222-3; elegy, 224-227; last will and testament, 229
Secret Express, Anson's, 175-177
Seguataneio (Chequetan), 39
Seven Years' War, 7, 65 *et seq.*
Smollett, state of Navy, 7
Sorgard, Captain, 15
Spain and the War, 158-161, 165-175
Stamp Act, 201, 206
St. Anne, the, 161, 162
St. John's Island, 202
St. Julian, 16, 17
St. Lawrence, 2, 111-117, 220

Index

-
- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>St. Vincent</i> , the, 162, 163,
166, 167, 168, 171 | <i>WALPOLE</i> , Horace, 1, 46, 153,
222, 228 |
| <i>Stirling Castle</i> , the, 114, 138,
139 | <i>Walpole</i> , Sir Robert, 1, 17 |
| THIRD Family Compact , 161 | <i>Westminster Abbey</i> , 3, 223 |
| <i>Tinian</i> , 43-45 | <i>Willson</i> , Beckles, 94, 149;
and <i>Wolfe's</i> missing <i>Journal</i> ,
111-113, 118, 120,
129-137 |
| <i>Townshend</i> , General, 134,
142, 147 | <i>Wolfe</i> , 1, 2, 3, 6, 63-140, 147-
148, 221, 223 |
| <i>Traverse</i> , the, 115-117 | <i>Wood</i> , Major William, 3, 4,
93, 102, 120, 148 |
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58-60 |
| VALDIVIA , 20, 23 | |
| <i>Vaudrueil</i> , Governor, 138 | |
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